HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVIII, No. 28 Copyright 1968 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. July 13, 1968

35¢

Disarmament Talk: A Soviet Ploy?

By PAUL SCOTT

Behind that image of sweet reasonableness on disarmament, the Russian leadership is pressing a missile build-up of undiminished militancy.

Under the Kremlin's secret building program, the Soviet Union's land-based strategic missile arsenal will surpass in size that of the U.S. sometime this year.

New long-range missiles being emplaced by the Russians in hardened, dispersed silos will number more than 1,200 compared to 1,054 for the U.S.

That's the latest warning that U.S. intelligence authorities delivered to the White House to show their growing concern that the Kremlin's agreement to discuss strategic weapons control is only a Soviet ploy to cover their massive missile program.

Despite the agreement to open these negotiations, it is pointed out, the Soviets are pressing ahead with an anti-ballistic missile system in the Moscow region, which is scheduled to be completed by the end of 1969.

The U.S. will have no similar system for at least three and possibly five years at the earliest if President Johnson permits construction to proceed as planned.

This rapid progress of the Soviet Union is a source of growing concern to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and members of the Senate and House Armed Service Committees.

The legislators are currently studying disturbing new reports from the three military services showing that the Soviets are maintaining an initiative in the nuclear-arms race seized during the period Defense Secretary McNamara was at the helm in the Pentagon.

In addition to outstripping the U.S. in missile development, these reports show that the Russians have gained a tremendous superiority in large nuclear warheads. The latter are designed to destroy communication and transportation systems over large areas of the U.S. in case of war.

It was all smiles last week at the White House during the signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, but the threat of Soviet military might is just as evident as before. From left are Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, British Ambassador Sir Patrick Dean, disarmament agency chief William C. Foster and Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

For example, the Soviets by the end of 1968 will have a commanding 2-to-1 edge in terms of megatonnage. This lead is due to the self-imposed U.S. ban against developing warheads larger than 20 megatons. In comparison, the Soviets now have warheads with five times that explosive power—or equal to 100 megatons.

While the U.S. strategic budgets have been pared extensively to allow expenditures for the increasingly more expensive war in Viet Nam, the Soviets have in recent years drastically increased funds for their strategic arsenal.

Only in the Navy's fleet of 41 missile-firing Polaris submarines does the U.S. still hold an edge over the Soviet Union. This margin, however, is being reduced almost monthly as the Russians push construction of their missile-firing subs at the rate of 10 a year.

In contrast, the U.S. Navy has been forced to stop building Polaris submarines because of drastic budget restrictions. Instead, the Navy is concentrating on improving its present fleet by adding longer-range missiles.

The Soviets also have more than 750 intermediate-range ballistic missiles. Most of these are targeted on U.S. allies in Europe, who do not have available to them comparable counterforce.

Since nearly half of the U.S. Polaris fleet is being used as NATO's main counter to the Soviet IRBM threat to Europe, a comparison of the strategic strengths of the two superpowers must reflect this diversion of these submarines.

The Russians are also pushing ahead with the so-called Fractional Orbital Bombardment System (FOBS), which is designed to wipe out all U.S. bomber bases. The U.S. has no comparable weapon system and is cutting back on military space development under the new budget limitations.

According to U.S. intelligence estimates, the Anti-Ballistic Missile System (ABM) being installed around Moscow is an area defense system of Moscow region rather than a specific defense of that city.

With its long-range missiles and radar, this ABM system when completed in 1969 will be able to provide a measure of anti-ballistic missile defense for all of western Russia.

Significantly, President Johnson has postponed a decision on whether to use the planned anti-Chinese missile defense system to protect the U.S. missile sites against Soviet attack.

This postponement was decided on at the time the President sent his latest proposal to Russia for the missile-curbing talks. No announcement by the White House was made, although the Soviets were notified of the postponement.

The purpose of delaying the decision was to keep the door open during the coming U.S.-Soviet negotiations. To keep congressional advocates of an anti-Soviet ballistic missile defense at bay, the Administration has cloaked this postponement in considerable semantic confusion.

At a relatively small additional cost, these officials have passed the word, this so-called "thin" anti-ballistic missile defense system can be adapted to protect at least some of the Minuteman intercontinental missile sites against Soviet attack.

Members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff say privately this argument is misleading, since it doesn't take into account the cost of a crash program that would be needed for the U.S. to catch up to the Soviets.

Confirmation of the postponement of the anti-Soviet missile decision by the President came recently from Dr. John S. Foster Jr., director of Defense Research and Engineering.

In testimony before a Joint Congressional Atomic Energy subcommittee, Foster suggested that for the present at least no anti-Soviet role was intended for the ABM system.

"The deployment of the Sentinel permits us at any time within a year to make a decision on whether or not we want to defend the Minuteman silos," he told the legislators.

"You have not yet made that decision?" inquired Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.).

"No, we have not taken that step," replied Foster.

NEWSPAPER

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon below).

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N. Y. 10011.

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Capital Briefs

● The fight shaping up in the Republican party over LBJ's Supreme Court selections could cost Sen. **Everett Dirksen** (R.-Ill.) his job as leader of the Senate Republicans. Dirksen's in favor of the nominations; the majority of his party is opposed. His defeat on this issue, say Republicans, could bring about his demise as minority leader.

● Key Bobby Kennedy supporters have sworn to get even with three persons who opposed Bobby in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. Those on the **vendetta list:** Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, Rep. Joseph Resnick of New York (since defeated in the senatorial primary), and columnist Mary McGrory of the Washington Evening Star.

● Despite nasty reviews from liberal critics, John Wayne's pro-South Viet Nam film, "**The Green Berets**" is doing sensationally at the box office. In its first week, the film grossed $71,000 in a Chicago theater and $56,000 in New York—receipts that Variety calls "whammo" and "boffo." Wayne, himself, says that he's "really encouraged" by the movie's reception in New York, where several anti-war pickets were recently arrested after waving a Viet Cong flag in front of the screen.

● **Pete Seeger**, favorite folk singer of the Smothers Brothers, has written an article for the preview edition of the Daily World, the U.S. Communist party publication that will be a successor to the Worker.

● Ohio Republicans have dumped a veteran party worker in their recent caucus, which also affirmed the delegation's official neutrality on a presidential candidate. Mrs. **Katharine Kennedy Brown**, GOP national committeewoman from the Buckeye State since 1932 and a firm conservative, was ousted by a 40-to-17 vote of the Ohio GOP delegation. While State Chairman John Andrews said the vote was not on philosophical lines, Mrs. Brown charged she was removed in a "purge by liberals." Ohio observers detect the fine hand of Gov. John Rhodes, often considered a Rocky supporter, behind her removal.

● A special panel established by Pittsburgh Mayor Joseph Barr has reported that the riots in the city following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King last April were the result of "some advance **planning and preparation.**" Although the commission found no evidence of a "national conspiracy," the panel did find that "the printing of placards, the making of fire bombs, the selectivity in establishments chosen for destruction—all of these point to some advance planning and preparation."

● How liberal are **U.S. labor reporters?** According to a recent poll of labor journalists with 48 U.S. daily newspapers, Walter Reuther, a vice chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, is America's "greatest living labor leader."

● Chicago is not the only city in which federal **anti-poverty funds** are being ladled out to ex-cons with long criminal records. The Labor Department, for instance, has given $250,000 to Soul, Inc., a coalition of Gary, Ind., youth gangs headed by Booker T. Wilmington, a 44-year-old "community leader" whose police record includes convictions for armed robbery and the federal Mann Act. Two other board members have arrest records for armed robbery, assault and battery and possession of marijuana. "These are hardly choir boys involved in this program," concedes Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher.

● The Department of Housing and Urban Development has made a $277,733 grant to study "the feasibility of an **automated, driverless transport system**" in Columbia, Md. At latest count Columbia had 1,200 residents.

● While the Administration continues to talk detente and disarmament with the Soviets, the Israeli secret service, Shin Bet, has informed Washington officials that Soviet pilots are now flying **regular patrol missions** for the Egyptian and Syrian Air Forces in the Middle East. According to the Israelis, there are between 70 and 100 Soviet pilots officially attached to the Egyptian command.

● **Ralph Schoenman**, the self-styled revolutionary, who organized last year's war crimes "tribunal" at which the U.S. was condemned as an aggressor in Viet Nam, has arrived in New York after being booted out of Great Britain. The Brooklyn-born Schoenman, the secretary of Lord Bertrand Russell's peace foundation, slipped into Britain on June 17 in defiance of a ban on his return; he was then rushed out of the country before his lawyer could arrange a court challenge of the order deporting him.

● The Poor People's Campaign seems far from dead, despite the recent burial of Resurrection City. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, director of national mobilization for the campaign, has announced plans for a **boycott of businesses** whose prices are allegedly too high for poor people. The boycott, says Jackson, may extend to as many as 40 cities.

● Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) reports that 12 million Americans are receiving **government welfare payments**. This is three times the number who were on the government rolls during the Great Depression.

● The Navy version of the controversial **F-111 fighter-bomber** was all but killed last week when the House Armed Services Committee went along with Senate action to eliminate funds for the plane. The F-111 was the plane that former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara ordered into production over virtually unanimous opposition from the military.

● The **Viet Nam war**—now over six years, six months old—has become the longest struggle in U.S. history. The combat death toll exceeds 25,000 men and more than 155,000 Americans have been wounded. In terms of money, it is already the second costliest, and if present trends continue will ultimately surpass even World War II. Latest estimates are that Viet Nam is costing $10,000 a second and the price tag is rising.

● A $5,000 salary in 1939 is equal in purchasing power to one of $14,000 today. So reports the National Industrial Conference Board which says that **inflation** accounted for $7,258 of the increase and higher taxes for the rest. The non-partisan group also disclosed that if you held a $10,000 life insurance policy when LBJ took over it has depreciated $917 in purchasing power and is now worth only $9,083.

● How high are **labor costs?** A Chicago local of the Iron Workers Architectural and Ornamental union recently wrested a 33 per cent increase from employers in wages and fringe benefits, with workers promised an hourly pay scale of $7.77½ cents an hour by 1970. A union spokesman said that union members under the old formula earned an average of "only" $9,000 a year.

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Stop Fortas Now

Unbelievable as it might sound, Senators Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) and George Smathers (D.-Fla.), both of whom are apparently paying off a debt to LBJ, are trying to convince fellow senators they should confirm the nomination of Abe Fortas as the next chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. They're arguing, strange as it may now seem, that Fortas has been something of a conservative.

FORTAS

But a close look at the record reveals this is bunk. Scrutiny of major cases Fortas has participated in demonstrates he's every bit the judicial activist that Earl Warren has been. Like Warren, Fortas doesn't believe in following precedent, the Constitution or legislative intent. Like Warren, he believes in overturning the convictions of subversives and criminals on the tiniest of technicalities and the most strained interpretation of the laws. And like Warren, he wants to remold the law to suit his own whim and tastes.

Here, for example, are just a few of the significant cases in which Fortas sided with the liberal majority, tossing judicial temperance to the winds:

• As pointed out in these pages last week, Fortas cast a key vote in the famous *Miranda vs. Arizona* confessions decision in June 1966. That ruling, decided by a 5-to-4 vote, virtually barred even freely given confessions from being used in both federal and state courts as they had been since the founding of the Republic. Charles E. Moylan Jr., state's attorney for the city of Baltimore, Md., testified before Congress that he had to let go murderers and thieves because of *Miranda*. His testimony as to the effects of *Miranda* has been corroborated by dozens of prosecuting attorneys. So horrendous have been the effects of this High Court decision that Congress, in passing the Omnibus Crime Control bill this session, tried to modify *Miranda*, but with Fortas as chief justice, Congress would probably find itself overruled again.

• In *Witherspoon vs. Illinois*, handed down in June 1968, Fortas, along with five other justices, came close to eliminating capital punishment as a method of dealing with murderers. Witherspoon was convicted of killing a Chicago policeman in 1960, and the jury sentenced him to death. While not reversing his conviction, the High Court reversed the imposition of the death penalty on the grounds that such punishment could not be inflicted by a jury in which individuals opposed to the death sentence were excluded. Prosecutors have traditionally barred such individuals from juries. Since death sentences must be unanimous, a jury comprised of some individuals opposed to capital punishment would probably never vote to execute a convicted murderer. Thus, the court's apparent aim in the Witherspoon opinion was to eliminate the death penalty by judicial decree.

Yet the court went further than this. In a vigorous dissent, Justice Hugo Black pointed out that the majority even threatened to release convicted killers in the future, even those not under a death sentence, if juries that found them guilty had been "stacked" with those who had no scruples against capital punishment.

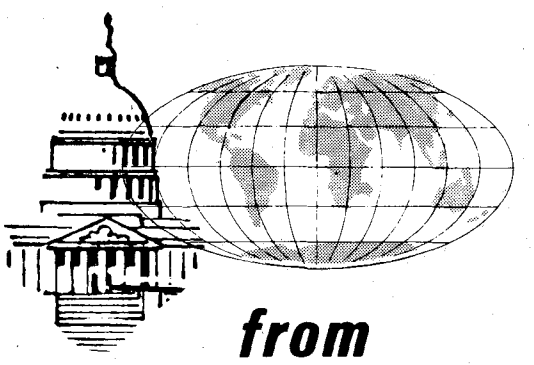
• Fortas' softness toward criminals was evidenced again when he sided with the court majority in June to reverse, on a technicality, the conviction of Wayne D. Bumper, a Negro from North Carolina, who had received a life sentence after the jury had found him guilty of rape.

In this case, the evidence conclusively revealed that the accused had twice raped a young woman at gunpoint, shot both the woman and her companion while they were tied to a tree, and left them for dead. None of these facts was in dispute. Yet the court majority overturned the conviction on the sole grounds that the rifle used to shoot the victims had been unlawfully obtained as evidence from the home of Mrs. Hattie Leath, grandmother of the accused.

Police officers apparently did not have a proper warrant to search her house, but Mrs. Leath testified extensively at the trial that no warrant was necessary because she had eagerly hoped the police search would prove her grandson's innocence. The trial judge also ruled she had freely consented to the search. But the High Court, in its majestic wisdom, came to the conclusion that Mrs. Leath had *not* freely consented to let the officers go through her home and, therefore, the rifle found in her house could not be used as evidence.

As Justice Black remarked: " . . . this is a case where every word of evidence introduced at trial pointed to guilt, and there was no challenge to the truthfulness of the state's evidence, nor to the character of any of its witnesses. Yet even with all this, the court persists in reversing the case. . . ."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

• Fortas also displayed his judicial activism when he sided with Chief Justice Earl Warren in the December 1967 Frank Robel case. In that stunning decision, Warren struck down a section of the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act barring admitted Communists from working in defense establishments. Warren, with Fortas in agreement, ruled that even though there was no question that Robel was a Communist and that he was employed in a defense facility, the law was improper because it did not take into account Robel's *commitment* to communism. The court majority held that mere membership in the Communist party is not enough to bar someone from employment in defense establishments important to the security of the nation.

THORNBERRY

BLACK

• In the June 12, 1967, Allis-Chalmers case, Fortas was part of the 5-to-4 majority that ruled it was perfectly all right for unions to levy fines on workers who refused to strike and that such fines could even be enforced through the American court system. This, despite the relevant sections of the Taft-Hartley Act which guarantee union members the right not to participate in strike action. Indeed, in upholding the unions, the court—and Fortas—ignored Sen. Robert Taft's own words that a chief purpose of his law was to prevent "coercive acts of unions against employes who did not wish to join or did not care to participate in a strike or a picket line."

In case after case Fortas has sided with the liberal, activist majority. Thus the Dirksen-Smather contention that he is somehow a conservative is fraudulent on its face.

Judge Homer Thornberry, LBJ's nominee for associate justice of the Supreme Court, is also in the liberal tradition. As revealed here last week, Thornberry, aside from handing down liberal opinions in both the fields of civil rights and crime, received only a *five* per cent conservative rating on the ACA index in his last two years in Congress.

Conservatives in both the Democratic and Republican parties have long argued that the liberal Supreme Court majority has been a majority source of trouble for the country. Through its decrees, law enforcement has been seriously weakened, labor unions have been favored and the states have had their powers drastically curtailed.

Thus the issue is clear: No senator who wants good government should confirm the appointments of Fortas and Thornberry. Those who do should be booted out of office. Why not tell your senators how you feel about it?

Supreme Court Notes

Capitol Hill politicos find it highly ironic that Sen. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) is playing into Earl Warren's hands and enthusiastically backing LBJ's choices of Fortas and Thornberry. For Malvina Stephenson, Washington correspondent for the Tulsa *World*, overheard Warren making some very unkind remarks about the GOP Senate leader at the University Club where she had gone to cover a wedding.

DIRKSEN

Talking loudly from a phone booth, Warren told the party on the other end of the line that he wanted to get a suitable successor, "not in the image of a Republican choice that might be dictated by a President Nixon and a Senate Republican Leader Dirksen." Miss Stephenson remarked in a broadcast that Warren "confided to a friend that if Nixon is elected President, Dirksen would be given the appointment. Dirksen has already tried to ruin the court." But the Illinois solon, again fallen under one of LBJ's mysterious spells, has now agreed to rally support behind the President's liberal appointments—neither of whom is in the "image of a Republican."

• California senators spearheading the fight to block the two new Supreme Court nominees are now complaining that White House-inspired pressure and heavy "arm twisting" are being used to ensure Senate confirmation. Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.) has told reporters that he and other senators are receiving calls from "executives doing business with the government" about the appointments. The Michigan lawmaker said he had heard "indirectly" from Henry Ford II, head of the Ford Motor Co. headquartered in Michigan. A top Ford executive, said Griffin, sought to persuade him to relinquish the fight and that he had no doubt the call had been stimulated by the President. "The White House," said Griffin, "is pulling out all the stops." Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) has made a similar observation, claiming that "this is the greatest arm-twisting that has ever been put on; everybody the White House has a claim on is being used in this one."

• The Democrats are now all opposed to the Republican contention that no new nominees to the Supreme Court should be selected by LBJ, a lame-duck President. But back in 1960 things were different. On August 25 of that year, LBJ, then majority leader, voted for a resolution sponsored by Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.) expressing the sense of the Senate that President Eisenhower, who had only five more months to serve, should not be permitted to make recess appointments to the Supreme Court. The resolution, noted columnist Willard Edwards, was passed August 29 by a 48-to-37 vote. Johnson mustered 48 Democrats to its support.

"The 86th Congress approaches its close," said Hart when he first introduced the resolution June 16. "Whatever the outcome of the presidential elections in November, a new administration will take place. None of us knows which political party will direct that administration. I suggest this is a most appropriate time for the Senate to record its extreme reluctance to see recess appointments made to the Supreme Court."

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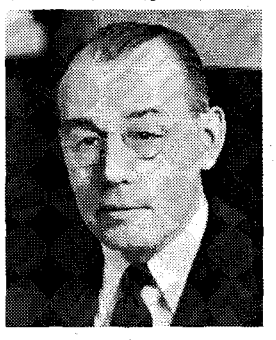
Bloated Bonus for Congress?

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), sometimes referred to as the "Conscience of the House," has exposed one of the most high-handed attempts by greedy lawmakers to line their own pockets with hard-earned taxpayer dollars.



GROSS

In the face of the $25-billion deficit for fiscal 1968, plus a stiff increase in individual and corporate taxes, House members, including some who shout to the rooftops about economy, are attempting to sneak through a bill that would jump their own retirement pensions by a whopping 33-1/3 per cent. Under this proposal (HR 16903), for example, a member who had served in the House for 12 terms will have his annual pension raised from the "poverty line" of $17,100 to $24,000.

This money grab is being sponsored by Rep. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio), but Hays has a host of accomplices, including Representatives Thaddeus Dulski (D.-N.Y.), Dominick Daniels (D.-N.J.) and John Dent (D.-Pa.). (Interestingly enough, Hays has to be elected only one more time to be eligible for the $24,000 annual retirement bundle.)

Rep. Gross claims it is "difficult to describe the congressional arrogance and affront to the American taxpayers that is represented by the congressional retirement provisions of the bill. . . ."

To ensure themselves a hefty windfall without incurring the wrath of the voters, the proponents of this measure have, from the bill's inception, engaged in massively deceitful practices. The actual title of the bill, for example, refers to Foreign Service retirement benefits, but doesn't carry a word about gigantic congressional pension hikes. The increased pay for lawmakers is deviously put under the heading, "other purposes."

Since the enactment of the Congressional Retirement laws, every amendment to those laws has been considered by and approved by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Yet the supporters of this measure managed, with the consent of Dulski and Daniels, to place the proposed pay hike before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

And the bill, outrageously enough, continues to march through Congress. It zipped through the House Foreign Affairs Committee and was reported out of the House Rules Committee with only two members dissenting. This week proponents plan to push their attempted raid on the federal treasury through the House without a record vote.

"By any objective standard," says Gross, this measure should be roundly defeated. "Coming as it does late in the final session of the 90th Congress, with its proponents apparently hoping that in the drive toward adjournment its implications will be overlooked, we are supposed to turn our heads while it passes silently with no record votes. Yet every member knows that this proposal, granting unconscionable increases in retirement benefits for members of Congress, is inappropriate at this time. . . .

"In the past few years there has been some effort exerted on the part of the government to halt price increases and to hold down costs of spiraling wages and fringe benefits in order to prevent inflation. By providing excessive retirement benefits for members of Congress, we do not act in the public interest toward this objective.

"In fact, we say to management and labor throughout the nation: 'Come, follow us and grant higher fringe benefits to all of your top officials.' This in turn creates pressures on labor unions to seek similar benefits. And federal employe organizations will seek retirement benefits similar to those which are now proposed for members of Congress. . . .

"I say this will be creating a poor example for this country. I say a veil cannot be pulled over this action in the hope the American people will not notice what is being done."

How is your congressman going to vote on this issue? Why not ask him? And why not ask him what he has been doing to block this "unconscionable" pension hike?

NSA vs. Draft

Is the National Student Association, long subsidized by the CIA, now violating the selective service statutes? That question was raised last week as the student group disclosed it was soliciting pledges from campus leaders to refuse induction in the armed forces.

The Justice Department is known to be investigating the NSA drive to see if the federal law has been broken.

President Edward Schwartz announced that NSA had obtained pledges to evade military service from 100 campus leaders. The pledge, signed by present and former student body presidents and editors, declares:

"Along with thousands of our fellow students, we campus leaders cannot participate in a war which we believe to be immoral and unjust. Although this, for each of us, is an intensely personal decision, we publicly and collectively express our intention to refuse induction and to aid and support those who decide to refuse. We will not serve in the military as long as the war in Viet Nam continues."

Among the campuses represented were Amherst, Boston University, Cal Tech, Columbia, Harvard, MIT, Swarthmore, Union Theological Seminary, University of California and the University of Michigan.

ABM System Rescued

Arguments of the appeasement bloc in the Senate failed to carry the day on June 24 when the upper chamber, by a 52-to-34 rollcall vote, crushed a proposal by Sens. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) and Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.) to prevent the immediate deployment of our first Sentinel Anti-Ballistic Missile defense system.

Defense Secretary Clark Clifford had warned that the Hart-Cooper offering would seriously impair our defenses. Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), pointing to greatly increased Red Chinese nuclear capabilities, protested that the deployment of our ABM system had already been delayed so long that "even under present plans we could be vulnerable" to a nuclear strike from Peking. Jackson also argued that the ABM system could be used to ward off Soviet missiles as well.

While some senators argued against deployment primarily on the grounds of saving money, the liberal clique worried that deployment would escalate the arms race with the Soviet Union, even though the Soviets have already deployed their own ABM system around Moscow.

Both Jackson and Clifford vehemently argued the opposite. They contended the Soviets would be much more likely to discuss disarmament if we displayed determination to be militarily strong.

Within 72 hours after the Hart-Cooper proposal was quashed, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko announced that the Soviet Union was now ready to enter an exchange of opinions on "the mutual limitation and later reduction of strategic weapons, both offensive and defensive, including antimissile missiles."

Even the Washington *Post*, a leading opponent of the ABM, remarked that the ABM vote probably spurred the Soviets into disarmament talks. Thus, for the umpteenth time, the hard-liners proved that the Communists respond to determination and military strength, not soothing words and non-provocative weapons.

• Six liberal Democrats, all up for re-election, conveniently missed the vote on this all-important issue, even though each had had several days advance notice as to when the Hart-Cooper proposal would come up for a vote. The six who refused to be counted on the issue: Sens. Frank Church (D.-Idaho), J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska), Edward Long (D.-Mo.), Mike Monroney (D.-Okla.) and Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.).

• The following is the vote on the Hart-Cooper proposal to postpone indefinitely deployment of an ABM system. A "Yea" vote is a vote for postponement.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 34

DEMOCRATS (22): Burdick, Clark, Ellender, Gore, Hart, Lausche, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGovern, Metcalf, Mondale, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.) and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (12): Aiken, Brooke, Case, Cooper, Hatfield, Javits, Morton, Percy, Prouty, Scott, Smith and Williams (Del.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 52

DEMOCRATS (29): Anderson, Bayh, Bible, Brewster, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Dodd, Eastland, Ervin, Harris, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Long (La.), Magnuson, McClellan, McGee, Pastore, Russell, Smathers, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (23): Allott, Baker, Bennett, Boggs, Clarkson, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Griffin, Hansen, Hickenlooper, Jordan (Idaho), Kuchel, Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Thurmond, Tower and Young (N.D.).

Requiem for RFK

A traveling companion of Stokely Carmichael and a key leader in Stokely's violently racist Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has written a poem protesting that the genuine martyr in the Bobby Kennedy assassination is Bobby's alleged killer, Sirhan B. Sirhan.

The writer, Julius Lester, lavished sympathy on Sirhan in a column, "From the Other Side of the Tracks," a feature that appears regularly in *The Guardian*, the successor to the cited-Communist paper the *National Guardian*.

Lester entitled his poem, "Not in Memory of Robert Kennedy." Among other things, he said:

Poor men are assassinated every day. . . .
but the victim never dies.
He just keeps living until one day he picks up a gun
and fires it at his oppressor
and casts his vote for liberation. . . .
the martyr is not he who was killed
but he who fired the gun.
That is all we need to remember about the sixth day
of June nineteen hundred and sixty eight.

Lester, as *Human Events* has often told its readers, is a long-time advocate of violence. He traveled to Cuba with Stokely in 1967 and participated in the Latin American Solidarity conference which pledged Viet Nam-type revolutions throughout the Western Hemisphere. Last year Lester also write a column in the *Guardian* backing SNCC for its attack on Israel.

This is not the first time that black nationalists have revealed their dislike for Bobby Kennedy. A startling cartoon in a recent newspaper put out by the Black Panther society, an organization that has merged with SNCC in several areas, depicts Robert Kennedy as a dead pig.

Several weeks ago, *Human Events* revealed that Bobby had actually been marked for death by another black racist organization, the Revolutionary Action Movement. Detective Edward Lee Howlette, a Negro undercover police agent, testified at the trial of New York "educator" Herman B. Ferguson, head of an arm of RAM, that Ferguson recited a "list of names given to him by Max Stanford as targets of terrorism—people who should be assassinated." On that list: Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Bobby Kennedy. Stanford, a Philadelphian, is RAM's chieftain. Ferguson has since been convicted on charges of conspiracy to murder Wilkins.

While all this has been going on, it is interesting to recall, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark has long poohpoohed the dangers arising from black revolutionary organizations and is generally credited with having quashed attempts by those under him to press for action against black subversive groups.

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POLITICS '68

REAGAN

The International Association of Machinists, with 180,000 California members, is giving considerable aid to the **recall movement** aimed at Gov. Ronald Reagan. The IAM's political arm, the Non-Partisan Political League, has endorsed the move and chipped in money to the campaign. IAM members are also working closely with the Recall Reagan Committee.

While former Gov. **Edmund G. "Pat" Brown** denies he's behind the movement, politicos in the Golden State assert that Brown's political allies, which include the IAM, are in the campaign up to their ears. Campaign leaders have also met with Brown to discuss the recall petition.

Leaders of the movement claim they now have 700,000 signatures, some 80,000 below the total required to place their proposition on the ballot. Edwin Koupal, general manager of the Recall Reagan Committee, Inc., and a Sacramento car salesman, says he hopes to acquire **one million signatures** by the July 31 filing deadline. Koupal is a Democrat who said he voted for Brown in the 1966 election.

• California Secretary of State Frank Jordan says that in his 27 years of public service he has never heard as many complaints about a petition as he has heard about the one to recall Reagan. Many persons, says Jordan, have stated that they signed the petition under the mistaken impression that it called for **a reduction in taxes.**

A FOURTH PARTY?

Two leading radicals connected with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, **Marcus Raskin and Arthur Waskow,** are spearheading a drive to organize a fourth-party movement, possibly headed by peace candidate Sen. Eugene McCarthy should he lose the Democratic nomination in Chicago.

McCARTHY

Raskin and Waskow, whose fourth-party strategy has been endorsed by the **New Republic**, have long worked the ultra-liberal circuit. Both contributed in 1962 to those famous articles of surrender, "The Liberal Papers," which dealt with the difficulty of "decent Americans" to be "outspokenly and genuinely anti-Communist." **The Liberal Papers** suggested breaking ties with Chiang Kai-shek in order to split the Sino-Soviet alliance and proposed letting the Russians plug in on the DEW line. M. Stanton Evans, in "The Politics of Surrender," said "the book as a whole is a complete agenda for an American backdown, pullout and conciliation in every known category of foreign policy and national defense."

Having prepared "The Liberal Papers," Raskin was promoted from Rep. Robert Kastenmeier's office to the staff of John F. Kennedy's National Security Council, the highest policy-making body in the United States. After he left the NSC, he continued to dabble around in leftist politics and wound up on the editorial board of **Ramparts**, the New Left monthly. Most recently, he was tried, along with Dr. **Benjamin Spock**, for conspiring to violate the draft laws, but was acquitted by a federal jury in Boston.

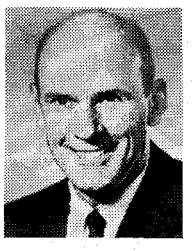
Waskow's contribution to the "Liberal Papers" called for an end to nuclear testing, creation of a Peace Agency and elimination of weapons "provocative" to the Soviet Union. He also turned out research for the **U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency**.

Today, Raskin and Waskow are working hard to forge a "peace" party a la Henry Wallace in 1948.

• Despite a number of difficulties, a **fourth party** could qualify for the ballot in many states after the Democratic Convention. The following are the states in which a new party or independent candidates or fourth-party electors might have time to qualify, according to a summary of election laws compiled by Congressional Quarterly: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

CRANSTON

When Democratic senatorial nominee **Alan Cranston** visited Washington recently, reporters came away from a press conference convinced the Californian was a "mouthful of cliches, evasions and double-talk."



CRANSTON

Cranston, whose opponent is the conservative and forthright **Max Rafferty**, professed that his own platform consisted of "reason and reconciliation" in the field of foreign and domestic policy. What exactly did this mean? Well, while he favored "extrication" from South Viet Nam, he stressed that we must withdraw with "care, conscience and honor." And what did this mean? Well, while he favored a **coalition government** in South Viet Nam, he was strongly opposed to it if the South Vietnamese didn't want it. He was for immediately letting the South Vietnamese Army take over the chores of American fighting men, but he was definitely opposed to putting a time limit on when the U.S. should vacate its forces.

As part of his platform, he continued, he favored "full and fair law enforcement," but refused to elaborate on the meaning of that pithy phrase. Yes, he was for the **Omnibus Crime bill**, but there were some areas—not specified—in which it may have gone too far. He was for vigorous **gun control legislation**, but not so vigorous that it would prevent individuals from obtaining weapons for legitimate purposes. By the end of the conference, one newsman commented that the candidate seemed to be as quick-footed verbally as he had been physically in his days as a Stanford track star.

• Cranston, moreover, did not exactly add to his credibility when he handed to reporters a glowing biography of his achievements. Conveniently omitted from his poop-sheet was his role as a founder and former president of the ultra-liberal **California Democratic Council**. The CDC, whose membership has been largely in Sen. Eugene McCarthy's corner, has long advocated a policy of "peace at any price" in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

WALLACE

Former Gov. George Wallace is being assailed in his home state—and around the nation—for drastically interfering with freedom of the press by ordering some **ABC-TV news film** to be forcibly confiscated.

WALLACE

At a recent press conference in Columbia, Md., ABC newsman **Sam Donaldson** charged Wallace with having his bodyguards in Eutaw, Ala., seize and destroy some 300 feet of ABC film, part of which showed Wallace shaking hands with **Robert Shelton**, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America. Wallace confirmed the confiscation and said he "resented" the camera crews singling out Shelton for filming.

Wearing a Wallace button, Shelton had apparently stepped into the receiving line without Wallace's knowledge. As Shelton moved forward, some observers had thought Wallace would take advantage of the opportunity to disown **Klan support** by refusing to shake hands with the Imperial Wizard. Wallace, however, heartily responded to Shelton's extended hand, until he realized ABC had caught the two on film. Then he quickly directed his bodyguards to get the film. When the ABC reporter refused, Wallace barked out to his strong-arms to "Take it."

Noted the Montgomery Advertiser about the incident: "With two words, Wallace did more to show his real attitude toward the **1st Amendment**, which he invokes constantly as a shield to his views, than anything he has done or said.

"When he has been denied the right to speak by hecklers, such as those at Dartmouth, we have systematically denounced such bully-boy infringements on dissent and freedom of information.

"Now Wallace has to answer to an act every bit as repugnant to our society. If he intends to **censure news** by seizure, perhaps the President should provide guards to protect cameramen covering his campaign, to make them secure in their rights to report the news the way it happens.

"Otherwise, there may be repetitions of his un-American order to his guards:

"'Take it.'"

NIXON

Richard Nixon picked up one of his most impressive non-political backers last week when he received the enthusiastic support of basketball star **Wilt Chamberlain**. A product of the Philadelphia ghetto who rose to become an All-Pro center with the city's professional team, the 76er's, Chamberlain said he backs Nixon "because he's the best man for the country, and also because when he talks about the problems of the ghettos he makes more sense than any other candidate."

"To me, he stands for **independence, not dependence,**" said the towering (7' 1") black athlete; "We see things the same way, and I'm going to be working with him during and after the campaign."

Chamberlain's attitude contrasts sharply with that of Nelson Rockefeller's most prominent Negro athlete-supporter, former baseball standout **Jackie Robinson.** Echoing Rocky's "rule-or-ruin" line, Robinson recently declared, "Take a good look at the record. If Mr. Nixon is nominated, I am a Democrat. . . . If Nixon is elected President, we as Negroes are in serious trouble; we would, in my opinion, be going backward." Interestingly, Robinson supported Nixon in 1960.

• Another prominent figure to endorse Nixon last week was Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, octogenarian daugher of President Theodore Roosevelt and ranking doyenne of Washington society. "I'm for Nixon," asserted the grande dame, often referred to as "Washington's Other Monument."

ROCKEFELLER

Nelson Rockefeller's **multi-million-dollar campaign** to purchase the GOP presidential nomination backfired last week when his Madison Avenue copywriters got carried away.

A **full-page ad** that ran in the New York Times and 40 other papers from coast to coast was headlined "Riot!" and written in the first person over the governor's facsimile signature.

Rockefeller claimed that after rioting broke out in **Rochester** in 1964, he immediately called out the state police and that by 9 a.m., July 25, "the streets of Rochester were safe." The Rockefeller version was hotly disputed by **Porter W. Homer**, who served as the Rochester city manager during the riots.

"The streets were not safe. Hell, that's why the National Guard was called in, and they didn't get there until sunset the next day."

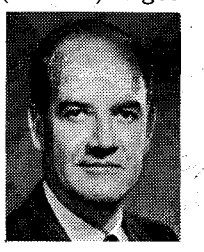
In the ad, Rockefeller said that he had also called up 1,600 **National Guardsmen**—"but we did not use them." But newspaper photos taken at the time showed helmeted guardsmen, rifles at their sides, riding through Rochester.

Homer also disputed Rockefeller's claim that he willingly called up the Guard. "That was done at our request. And we, in point of fact, had some pretty rough time getting them."

Homer's **post-riot report**, drafted in 1964, said "it was not until the riot areas were inundated with personnel, including National Guard troops, that the riots were stopped."

McGOVERN

Ludicrous as it may seem, dovish Sen. **George McGovern** (D.-S.D.) is getting ready to throw his toupee into the presidential ring. McGovern, who will go to Chicago as South Dakota's favorite son, claims that backers of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy are urging him to run. So, he says, are "disaffected elements" within the McCarthy camp.



McGOVERN

In an interview with the Chicago Sun-Times, McGovern said: "I've told them that I am honored and flattered to be considered. I myself have some reservations, but my own **preference for Kennedy** enables me to understand why the Kennedy delegates are reluctant to go to either McCarthy or Humphrey."

The head of the South Dakota delegation, **Bill Dougherty**, claimed that Democratic leaders from surrounding states, Massachusetts and New York, were pushing McGovern to run. A former top Kennedy aide told the Sun-Times that McGovern was "the natural choice" for the nomination if the convention is deadlocked.

Aides to Humphrey and McCarthy had difficulty keeping a straight face.

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Walter Goodman's 'The Committee'

The New Attack on HCUA

By M. STANTON EVANS

The campaign to discredit the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been long and strenuous, but—so far as public opinion is concerned—mostly ineffective. The constant hammering of HCUA's critics has resulted in only a handful of votes in Congress to abolish the committee or curtail its supply of money—an outcome reflecting congressional belief that public feeling is more in favor of HCUA than opposed to it.

The critics, obviously, have been coming at the matter from the wrong direction. They have for the most part tried to make their case through pamphlet literature or shrill polemics like Frank J. Donner's *The Un-Americans*. What has been needed is something more stately: an anti-HCUA tract which could reach people concerned about communism but unconvinced about the merits of the committee—a reasonable, or at least reasonable-appearing, volume.

In *The Committee* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $10), Walter Goodman has set out to provide such a book. He has written a gigantic anti-HCUA opus, a sprawling chronology which works its way through scores of cases with well-modulated rancor. It is in some respects the most plausible such document ever put together, and one which may prove persuasive to unwary readers—as witness a recent favorable review in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Although making his hostility toward HCUA plain from the beginning, Goodman approaches his subject with caution. He employs a strategy of give and concession—a variant of the Kutuzov defense celebrated by Tolstoy in *War and Peace*. He seeks to enfeeble by degrees, granting and absorbing the whole mass of information about subversion so often ignored by civil libertarians, then coming back to condemn and disparage the committee anyway.

One curious result of this approach is that the book contains a good deal of information favorable to the committee. As Goodman discusses the battles of the '30s, the Hiss case, the Hollywood Ten, and other such episodes, the factual points in HCUA's favor mount up rather quickly. Even through the lens of liberal opinion, the net effect of the pro-HCUA concessions is impressive. We read, for example, statements like these:

" . . . [Martin Dies'] estimate of [Philip] Murray's position was, for the time, close to the mark. . . . In 1941 Murray did not have the strength to confront the Communists around him—including so intimate an adviser as Lee Pressman, the [CIO's] tough counsel. . . ." (p. 121)

"The trouble was that Dies, having sat at the feet of [J.B.] Matthews, was more often than not right about the organizations he labeled Communist fronts . . . on the single, crucial point of Communist control, he was right." (p. 164)

"However much one objected to the committee's motives and methods, a study of the hearings over the years left little doubt that the overwhelming majority of witnesses called before it had been correctly marked down as members or former members of the Communist party; in 1953, 280 persons were heard, there being sworn testimony of their Communist affiliation in each case, and in every case but one—the Rev. Jack McMichael—the witnesses either admitted membership or pleaded the 5th Amendment." (p. 355)

" . . . whatever one's feeling about the police informer as a species, a reading of the record over the years gives little reason to doubt that the informers' charges before the committee have, with some regrettable exceptions, been substantially accurate. . . ." (p. 458)

Goodman of course combines these remarks with countervailing assertions to the committee's discredit; *e.g.*, that Dies didn't understand the Communist-front mentality, that the committee was unkind to Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, that its staff members committed this or that factual misplay.

Since no HCUA supporter claims the committee is infallible, the possibility of isolated error can be granted without impeaching the over-all record for accuracy which Goodman concedes. But because the author himself demonstrates a certain shakiness on factual points, restraint in accepting his say-so in such matters is advisable.

In at least three cases which caught the eye of this reviewer—Harvey Matusow, John Stewart Service, and the San Francisco riots against the committee—Goodman manages to obscure or misstate the essential facts of record. Discussing the first of these, for example, Goodman tells us that Matusow, who appeared frequently as a witness before anti-subversive agencies, "zestfully took to exposing himself and those who had egged him on" and "went to jail for perjury." This formulation glosses over the crucial point that Matusow went to jail in connection with his *recantations*, not in connection with his original anti-Communist testimony. Goodman's way of putting the matter leaves a highly misleading impression about the significance of Matusow.

Goodman would have his readers believe that career diplomat John Stewart Service (above) was ousted for his personal opinions, but in fact Service was fired for passing secret documents to an identified Red agent.

Similarly with Service. Goodman comments that Service had been dismissed from the State Department "for his alleged sympathy to the Chinese Communists." This phrasing gives the distinct impression that Service was ousted because of his opinions; in point of fact, he was separated from his government job because he had passed "very secret" documents to identified Soviet agent Philip Jaffe. As the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board put it: "We are not required to find Service guilty of disloyalty, and we do not do so, but for an experienced and trusted representative of our State Department to so far forget his duty to his trust as his conduct with Jaffe so clearly indicates, forces us with regret to conclude that there is reasonable doubt as to his loyalty."

Respecting the San Francisco riots, Goodman cites the statement of arrested "students" that "nobody incited us" to show that committee fears of Communist manipulation were off the mark. He further states that charges against these "students" were "dismissed by a sensible judge." He neglects to say that some 21 of the 70 people arrested were over 25 years of age and that the signers of the quoted statement include known Communist functionaries like Vernon Bown and Douglas Wachter. Nor does he note the opinion of the "sensible judge," Albert A. Axelord, that the defendants had "let themselves become victims of those who profit by creating unrest" and said he agreed with J. Edgar Hoover that the riots had been "instigated by Communists and subversives."

While such gaffes are sufficient to make us wary of Goodman's treatment of other episodes, it would be unfair to imply the book is systematically inaccurate. So far as can be determined without running an exhaustive check on every item he discusses, he seems content to follow the factual record on most cases before the committee and to make his basic indictment on other grounds entirely. He is willing to grant HCUA its harvest of facts because his basic argument is not factual at all, but personal and ideological.

Most of Goodman's anti-committee commentary consists of a running attack on the motives and intelligence of the various chairmen and leading members of HCUA. These officials are depicted as being wrong even when the record shows them to be right—intellectual misfits who do not understand the realities of the 20th Century. Chiefly, the charge runs, they do not understand that this is the age of peaceful coexistence and that systematic anti-Communist activity, however accurate in execution, is ridiculous.

A typical statement of this view is Goodman's handling of Francis Walter, who is treated as a humane and rational fellow until he becomes chairman of HCUA; at that point he is miraculously transformed. He suddenly becomes the victim of "obsession," twisted by "zenophobic passions" (sic), beset by "inner trembling." Goodman asserts that "where sane men the world over breathed a bit more easily at every reduction in the long, dangerous international tension, Walter saw only new threats. . . . He had become set in the dated style of suspicion and repression just at a time when fresh fashions were stirring in the land."

Walter's problem was that he actually believed there was a Communist threat and that HCUA had a serious mission concerning it. "Sane men" preferred to take the word of Nikita Khrushchev that the rumble was over and that neurotic manifestations like HCUA could be dispensed with.

The only people who believed in the reality of communism were incipient mental cases like Walter, practitioners of "mindless opportunism" like Harold Velde, or devotees of "stupidity" like Joe Pool.

This mixture of gossamer illusion and gutter rhetoric is the sum and substance of Goodman's case against the committee. Since there is no Soviet threat, we can do without the services of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Q.E.D. Small wonder Goodman is willing to concede that HCUA has rooted out individual Communists and Communist-fronters; in the warm glow of international thaw, such things are not supposed to make any difference.

As it happens, Goodman's use of foreign affairs as a touchstone for judging HCUA and his talk of "obsession" are justified. But the true reading of events which emerges from consideration of these things is the opposite of what he supposes. All the data—from Soviet support of the Viet Nam aggression to the Philby case to the latest squeeze on Berlin—show that international communism is as deeply devoted to our destruction as ever.

If the utility of HCUA is to be gauged by the foreign policy standard, therefore, the need for HCUA would seem to be very great indeed. Confronted by a global enterprise which seeks to destroy the United States, Congress is not only entitled but obliged to monitor and devise sanctions against the activities of enemy operations in our midst.

This means in turn that if we are to discuss unreasoning "obsessions" on the subject of communism, we should focus not on those men who believe Bolshevism is dangerous, but on those who insist on believing it isn't.

Over the past three decades, after all, American liberals have told us that despotism in the USSR was an admirable experiment, that the purge trials were a necessary catharsis, that the Kremlin was a noble ally and fellow democracy, that Mao Tse-tung and Fidel Castro were "agrarian reformers," that Khrushchev would never plant offensive missiles in Cuba, and so forth. In every case, the liberals have been wrong.

What is the source of this constant willingness to believe in the essential amiability of people who have sworn their intention of pushing us to the grave and backed their words with suitable action? Here is an "obsession" which might fruitfully have engaged Goodman's talents as an amateur psychoanalyst; but while he touches on this strange mentality in passing, the peroration of his book makes it plain that he is himself an unfortunate victim.

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Congressional Investigators Report

SCLC Much Richer After 'Poor People's March'

By ROBERT S. ALLEN and JOHN GOLDSMITH

The so-called "Poor People's Campaign" is turning out to be very profitable for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

While the loudly hooplahed propaganda drive and "Resurrection City" petered out in a wallow of mud, robberies, assaults and other violence, glaring bungling and chaos, SCLC coffers apparently are being enriched by some $250,000—and the total may run as high as $1 million.

That's the estimate of congressional investigators who are trying to get at the bottom of SCLC finances and operations.

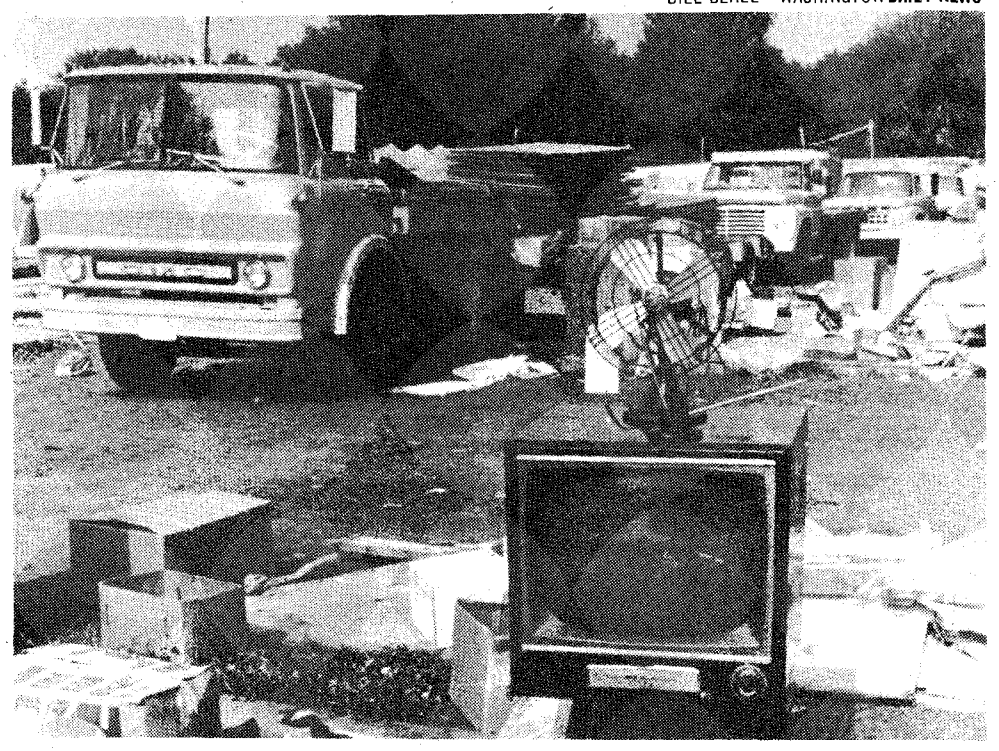
They are encountering many obstacles and barriers. As a non-profit organization, SCLC files no reports. Its officials, including the late Dr. Martin Luther King, have long refused to volunteer any information about the organization's affairs.

They claim they receive no salaries, but refuse to reveal how their activities are financed. It's assumed that is done through expense accounts. But on what basis and how much is also conjectural.

But from various sources both in and outside of SCLC, the following has been learned regarding the flood of contributions still pouring in for the dismembered "Poor People's Campaign":

As of June 22, when the permit for "Resurrection City" expired and the government prepared to shut it down, more than $1 million in cash and pledges had been received. They included $250,000 from the Field Foundation, N.Y.; $100,000 from the United Presbyterian General Assembly, of which half was cash and the balance pledged; $500,000 from actor Jack Lemmon, from movie earnings; $41,000 from St. Mark's Methodist Church, Chicago; $17,800 from Sammy Davis Jr.; $5,000 from the United Auto Workers in Los Angeles; $3,400 from United Packinghouse Workers.

BILL BEALL —WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS



This was the scene as Resurrection City was being torn down. The campers left behind vast amounts of clothing and other personal effects—while SCLC leaders stayed in the best hotels and ate their meals in restaurants.

A large and steady volume of mailed contributions in bills of large and small denominations and checks was received at SCLC headquarters in Washington, Atlanta, Birmingham and other cities in the first month of the "Poor People's" drive. How much these donations totaled is a SCLC secret. But insiders beamingly hint they "ran into six figures."

The volume of mailed contributions has slacked off considerably since the mud-mired and increasingly disorderly shantytown was shut down. But some money is still coming in daily. How much, of course, is unknown.

U.S. taxpayers also contributed sizably to SCLC's propaganda operation.

It will be some time before the full amount will be known. Costs are still being incurred: in dismantling "Resurrection City"; packing and storing the materials and abandoned personal possessions, including television sets, radios, fans and other electrical appliances; providing food and veterinarian care for the animals of the "mule train"; emergency police and National Guard expenses; and other charges.

Preliminary estimates indicate the total cost to taxpayers will be around $5 million.

Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W.Va.), chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee in charge of the District of Columbia's annual budget, has still-incomplete figures showing the cost to taxpayers of the capital alone will be more than $500,000.

On June 14, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, now serving a 20-day sentence for unlawful assembly at the Capitol, told newsmen the "Poor People's Campaign" had cost SCLC $1.5 million and that contributions totaled only $1.3 million.

The SCLC leader carefully did not explain how he arrived at either figure. When pressed by reporters, he curtly cut them off by changing the subject.

There was good reason for Abernathy's touchy silence.

Contributions undoubtedly amounted to $1.3 million—and then some. Exactly how much may never be known.

But how Abernathy could claim that SCLC had spent $1.5 million on the "Poor People's Campaign" is a mystery. Its plywood and canvas shanties were provided by various companies, groups and organizations—all white. The residents and other demonstrators were fed by the government, churches and numerous others. And so much clothing was contributed that huge piles were left behind for the government to store or dispose of.

The only known SCLC expenses were:

- Hotel and motel charges for Abernathy and numerous other SCLC officials and their families. None of them spent a night in "Resurrection City." They lived in the best hostelries, ate in the best dining places, and shopped in the best stores. At one motel alone they paid a bill of $20,000. Mrs. Abernathy and a group of SCLC wives bought $400 dresses in one of Washington's most expensive stores.

- Three trucks and nine automobiles purchased in the capital to provide transportation for the SCLC officials and, on some occasions, shantytown demonstrators. The 12 vehicles were paid for in cash.

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ACA: 10 Years Old

The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA), which furnishes aid to candidates and keeps tabs on important votes cast by each lawmaker, celebrated its tenth anniversary recently at a luncheon in Washington.

Adm. Ben Moreell (USN-Ret.), national chairman of ACA and one of its founding fathers, told the gathering that ACA had made remarkable strides over the 10-year period. The ACA, noted Moreell, had provided aid to a total of 807 candidates for the Senate and the House, 569 of whom had been elected. "In other words," said Moreell, "a total of 70.5 per cent of our candidates thus assisted were successful."

Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) told the audience of lawmakers that before there was an ACA, congressmen could cast irresponsible votes and few would take notice. As a result of those much-publicized ACA ratings, however, congressmen are now far more cautious about how they vote.

An honor guest on this occasion was Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), who conceived the idea of the conservative but non-partisan organization.

ACA, moreover, can count hundreds of congressmen as their friends. In the *Congressional Record* both Democratic and Republican lawmakers, taking note of ACA's birthday, lauded the organization for its role in keeping America a free country.

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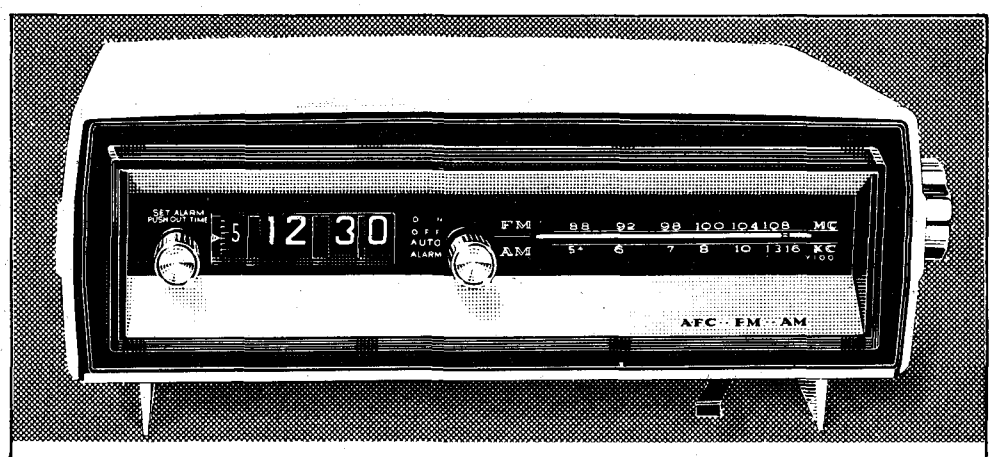

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Poverty in America: The Myth and the Reality

By PROF. JOHN B. PARRISH

The nature and extent of poverty in the U.S. is a very large subject. It is a many-sided subject. It is said to wear many faces.

It is a provocative subject. Why should some families be left in abject poverty when so many others enjoy unprecedented affluence?

It is a controversial subject. The "War on Poverty" is a central part of the present federal Administration's domestic policies. The differences within and between the major political parties over this issue are many and deep.

It is a confusing subject. It is often difficult to separate myth from reality, fact from fiction, claims from polemics.

Poverty is a "hot" subject. It contains many racial overtones that give it a sensitivity greater than many other public issues. Emotions can run very high on the relationship of poverty to such activities as civil rights, public welfare aid, school busing, income maintenance programs.

Poverty is an interdisciplinary subject. It is anchored in economics but is clearly interrelated to all the social sciences—to sociology, social psychology, political science, education, anthropology, history, and increasingly to management.

One hour is a very short time in which to discuss such a large and multi-sided subject. Of necessity, and at the risk of obvious over-simplification, I shall limit discussion to some aspects of a few basic questions. These are:

I. What are the principal claims made today about the nature and extent of poverty in the U.S.?

II. What is the truth about these poverty claims?

III. Are nonwhites being left behind in poverty while the rest of the population becomes ever more affluent?

IV. What about ghetto poverty? Is it getting worse?

V. Where do we go from here with poverty policy?

I. WHAT ARE THE MAJOR POVERTY CLAIMS?

The poverty literature in this country has become so large in recent years no one can hope to read it all, let alone analyze it.

But there has emerged from this literature a few ideas which seem to dominate the subject and which appear to have major impact on public thinking. Let me make note of just three.

A. The claim of "slow up" in reducing poverty

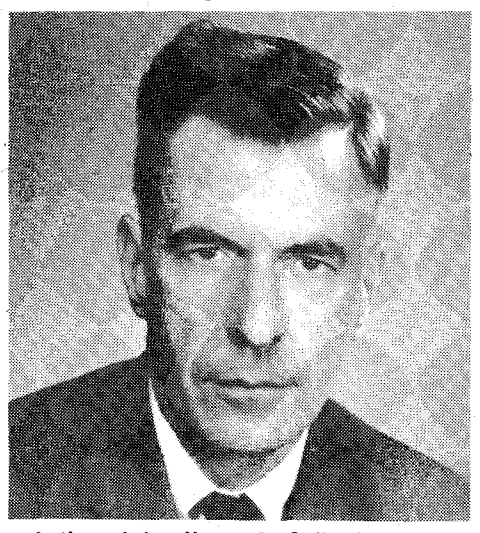
One of the principal claims about the status of poverty is that of "slow up" in the economy's ability to reduce poverty further. The best-known exponent of this thesis is John Kenneth Galbraith who articulated this theory in his best-selling, non-fiction volume published in 1958, *The Affluent Society*. Galbraith extolled the great *early* progress of our pluralistic economic system in reducing poverty. But this was all before 1950. In the 1950s he said something serious and mysterious happened. The rate of decline in poverty seemed to decelerate. The essence of this "slow up" thesis may be found in the following quotation:

"In the mid-'50s . . . the hard core of the very poor was declining, but not with great rapidity . . . it is our misfortune that when inequality declined as an issue, the slate was not left clean. *A residual and in some ways rather more hopeless problem* remained."

Now if this is true, the consequences are serious indeed. They are in fact rather terrifying. It suggests that those who were in poverty in 1958 were likely to stay that way while the rest of the country enjoyed ever more affluence. One can vision a society broken into two parts: the permanent poor, the permanent well off, separated by some impenetrable barrier imposed by cruel fate of history.

What evidence did Prof. Galbraith provide to support this disturbing thesis? None. Absolutely none. the reader is expected to be sufficiently impressed with Prof. Galbraith's prestigious Harvard credentials and his Cambridge address and to accept this provocative thesis on faith. And in truth, a large part of the American reading public did just that—and incidentally helping Prof. Galbraith into affluence himself.

It is reported that this best-selling, non-fiction book brought Mr. Galbraith nearly



Author John Kenneth Galbraith has expounded debatable theses on the causes of poverty in America.

a quarter of a million dollars. This he denies, however, and says he is much closer to poverty than that—the royalties were only around $125,000. In any case, the book had great impact on public thinking.

B. The claim that poverty is "massive"

The "slow-up" claim started others to write on this subject. In 1962 Michael Harrington wrote a book called *The Other America*. It was published as a paperback so even the poor could buy it. They did. So did the affluent. It became another best-seller. In it Mr. Harrington said that Galbraith was undoubtedly right, but that if anything he underestimated the size and the plight of the poverty population. The Harrington thesis can be illustrated by the following quotation:

"The other America, the America of poverty, is hidden today in a way that never was before. Its millions are socially invisible . . . 40 million or 50 million people, have remained in poverty in spite of increasing productivity and the creation of a welfare state."

Now the poverty claims began to build. The economy had lost its ability to further reduce poverty. The poverty population was massive—40 to 50 million. These millions were hidden away. And they were "hopelessly trapped."

What evidence did Mr. Harrington offer in support of this extended thesis? None. None whatever.

At this point a few individuals raised some questions about claims advanced with no supporting evidence.

But the poverty claims were now widely accepted. Apparently, they must be true. And shortly, statistical evidence was offered to prove conclusively and without question that the poverty claims were correct.

The November 1964 issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* carried an article entitled: "Trickling Down: The Relationship Between Economic Growth and the Extent of Poverty Among American Families," written by W. H. Locke Anderson, a former staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Using correlation coefficients and Pearl's curves Dr. Anderson demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that there was indeed abundant statistical support for the poverty thesis so forcefully presented in literary style by Messrs. Galbraith and Harrington. Dr. Anderson concluded: " . . . the elimination of poverty through trickling down is likely to be slower and more uncertain in the future than in the past."

C. The claim that poverty is "invisible"

About this time the poverty literature exploded. A very substantial proportion of the nation's academic social scientists jumped on the poverty bandwagon. Most are still there.

A relatively unknown author, Dwight McDonald, achieved sudden and dazzling recognition, including presidential praise, for an article, "Our Invisible Poor" in the affluent *New Yorker* magazine. The poverty population, he said, was new, distinctive and massive, yet, *somehow we can't see it*.

Herman Miller published *Rich Man, Poor Man*, Ben H. Bagdikian wrote, with great journalistic skill, another best-selling paperback, this one entitled, *In the Midst of Plenty*.

Library shelves began to bulge with poverty books. In fact, so many have been issued to date, many bear the same identical title. Publishers simply ran out of poverty titles.

It is fair to say, nearly all of these volumes were repeated and built on the Gailbraith-Harrington thesis noted above.

II. WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT THESE POVERTY CLAIMS?

Is the U.S. really filled with poverty?

Has the economy's ability to reduce poverty suddenly "slowed up"?

Is the size of the poverty population really massive?

Have the poor since the mid-1950s been "hopelessly trapped"?

Has the "trickling down" process all but ceased?

What is the truth?

Measuring the extent of poverty: Two different yardsticks

There are two principal ways of measuring poverty, or its converse, well-being. One is with income statistics. A second is with statistics on the consumption of selected consumer goods and services. Each yardstick has certain advantages and each has certain limitations. Both are very useful.

The poverty story as told by income statistics

Let me turn first to the poverty story as revealed by family income statistics.

In 1947, the first postwar year for which we have adequate data, the percentage of U.S. families falling below the arbitrary $3,000 annual family income poverty yardstick was 28.9 per cent. By the time the poverty claims were first made by Galbraith in 1958 the percentage had fallen to 21 per cent. By the time Anderson proved Galbraith's slowing up thesis correct for 1960, the percentage had fallen to 20. And by 1966, the latest year for which we have data, the percentage had fallen to 14.

What about the "slowing up" thesis? There is no basis for it, whatever. There has never been any basis for it except possibly in the case of erratic short-term, year-to-year fluctuations.

Let's look at the mysterious "slowing up" process a little more closely. When the poverty claims were first made, in 1955 to 1958, the decline of families in poverty was from 22.8 per cent to 21, a decline of 1.8 percentage points or about 8 per cent.

In the latest period, 1963—1966, the percentage of families in poverty declined from 17.5 per cent to 14.3. This is 3.2 percentage points, or 18 per cent. The decline in poverty has not stopped. It hasn't slowed up. The truth is, *it has accelerated*.

A more sophisticated yardstick for measuring poverty was developed by the Social Security Administration of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1965. This new poverty index takes into consideration not only family income, but income needs depending on family size, type of family head, age of family head, farm-non-farm location. The variable index ranged in 1966 from a low of $1,110 for a one-member farm family, female head, to $5,430 for a non-farm family of seven or more members with a male head.

Data are available to apply this variable index with constant dollars since 1959. And what does it reveal? It reveals that poverty in the U.S. has continued to decline steadily since 1959, reaching an all-time low of 15 per cent in 1966.

This still means that 29 million Americans are classified as in poverty. And that, of course, is 29 million too many. But let's keep perspective. This is still the smallest proportionate total number so classified in any country, anytime, anywhere and it continues to decline.

Actually there are a number of groups in that poverty class who probably don't belong there. For example, married college students living independently are apt to fall in this category. Are they hopelessly trapped? I doubt it. American college students have a rate of access to higher education greater than ever known in history. Apprentices learning a trade are classified in poverty. Are they trapped in poverty? No, they are in preaffluent training, they are postponing earnings for a while, to learn a skill, confidently looking forward to the highest real wages craftsmen have ever earned.

A man who retires takes a sharp cut in income and may well fall into the poverty class measured by income. But if he has a $20,000 home full of furnishings, as refrigerators, washing machines, TV sets, an automobile, all paid for, is he really in poverty? No, he enjoys more years of retirement at a higher level of living than people in his age bracket have ever known. He would like it to be even higher. But it's the highest achieved by any society thus far.

Is the poverty population really massive? No, it is not. Measured by income statistics it is not 35, 40, 50 or 70 million but probably closer to 25 million and declining.

The poverty story as told with consumption statistics

The second major yardstick with which to measure well being is the consumption of goods and services. Can it be said that America is divided into two classes—a class of affluence enjoying all the prerequisites of abundance, and the other a poverty class excluded from these consumption items by mysterious barriers of loca-

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tion, race, or age, or other inhibiting factors?

What is the truth?

The truth is not difficult to find—if one cares to take the time to gather evidence *before* coming to conclusions.

Let me trace briefly the record of diffusion for a few typical consumption items.

Electric refrigerators: In 1930 only about 7 per cent of U.S. families owned an automatic refrigerator. It was a luxury item. Only the very wealthy could afford this appliance. In 1940 the percentage had risen to 44. By 1950 it had climbed to 80. And by 1960, just two years after Galbraith's poverty thesis, it reached 99 per cent. And that includes the ghettoes. Who has been hopelessly excluded?

Automatic cooking equipment: What about automatic cooking equipment? Are 30, 50 millions of Americans unable to prepare proper meals because they lack adequate cooking equipment? The record shows that in 1910 only about 20 per cent of all U.S. families had automatic cooking equipment. The record shows a steady rise in this percentage with few interruptions for the next half-century until in 1965 the percentage reached 99.

Television: And what about the "culture of poverty" in which millions of poverty families are shut out from communication with the rest of the population? Now television provides instant access to entertainment, current news, symphony concerts, lectures, etc. Has a huge poverty class been shut out from this communication? In 1950 only 12 per cent of U.S. families had TV sets. This jumped to 88 per cent in 1960 and is currently around 96 per cent. The trickling down has not only continued, it has accelerated. Almost no one has been excluded.

Automobiles: The purchase and maintenance of an automobile is a much bigger item than refrigerators and TV sets. One would not expect families in acute deprivation to spend money on cars. Yet the record of the diffusion of automobiles is a remarkable story in itself. In 1910 only about 5 per cent of U.S. families owned an automobile. By 1930 this had risen spectacularly to 68 per cent. After a decline in the Great Depression of the 1930s the percentage recovered to 60 in 1950, reached 77 per cent in 1960 and is now just under 80 per cent. In the active age group of families, with heads 34 to 44 years of age, the percentage in 1966 reached 87.5 or just a little under 90 per cent. Where are the "invisible" Americans?

How can so many poor continue to buy so much with so little?

How is it possible that such a large segment of the population, classified in poverty with income statistics, can buy so many goods?

Let me put the matter somewhat differently. How can it be that those persons classified as at the very bottom of the income scale, far, far below $3,000, can buy so much with presumably so little?

That America's poor, classified as such by income statistics, actually enjoy many of the perquisites of affluence can be illustrated very easily.

Let's take the case of telephones. Now, a telephone is a very convenient consumer service. But it is not an absolute necessity. You can't eat it, or wear it, or drive it.

In 1966 the U.S. Bureau of Census made a special study of households enjoying telephone services. In so doing the bureau made a very interesting discovery. Over half of all households with less than $3,000 annual income had telephones. Most surprising of all, among those household units at the very bottom of the income scale; i.e., with incomes under $500 a year—and you can't get much poorer than that—nearly 60 per cent had telephones.

Now why should households, presumably the most deprived, most isolated, most disadvantaged, most impoverished and hungry people, order telephone service?

This suggests, does it not, that income statistics are a very useful measure of well-being but that they have many limitations. Standing alone, they may be quite misleading. The below-$500 households clearly had other sources of income or support and their economic status was evidently much higher than revealed by income data alone. Without full knowledge of this other support we see only a partial picture.

Let me illustrate in a somewhat different way the limitations of income statistics.

In a study in 1967 the U.S. Bureau of Census surveyed the kinds of goods purchased by low-income families. For purposes of comparison, let us adopt the $3,000 annual income as the poverty level. What did the poverty families buy? Of particular interest to me were the young poverty people, those under 25 years of age and earning less than $3,000 annually. What did they buy?

Well, 5 per cent purchased a *new* automobile. But *49* per cent purchased *a second-hand automobile*. Over half of the young poverty population of the U.S. bought cars in a single year. Were they really hopelessly trapped in poverty? In addition, 27 per cent purchased refrigerators and 54 per cent purchased television sets. America's youth in poverty were able to buy more consumer goods in a single year than the adult affluent classes in European countries over many years, not to mention the rest of the world.

It is obvious, is it not, that young families, just starting out, perhaps living in only a room or two, are indeed beginning careers with low incomes. But their ability to buy is relatively high and may reasonably be expected to increase with time. Cross-section analysis of well being can be misleading; it can easily overstate poverty. Well being is a longitudinal process. And, incidentally, the low-income families of this country have access to the world's largest second-hand market for consumer goods. This market enables them to stretch dollars far beyond dollar purchases in the first-hand market. As noted above, 49 per cent of the young poor purchased *used automobiles*—at one-half or one-third the price of a new car.

Illustrating the use of poverty as a political tool is this demonstration of a "Mothers March on Washington" in front of the House, Education and Welfare Department in the Nation's Capital.

III. ARE NONWHITES BEING LEFT BEHIND IN POVERTY?

Are nonwhites, particularly Negroes, being left behind in poverty while the rest of the population enjoys ever more affluence?

Much of the poverty literature in America today says "yes."

Writing in *The Great Leap*, in 1966 John Brooks says: "Economically, the progress of Negroes relative to whites seems to have peaked in the early 1950s, and then, in a particularly bitter paradox, turned downward . . . between 1952 and 1963 the median income of Negro families nationally in relation to white ones was reduced from 57 per cent to 53 per cent . . ."

The anthropologist Thomas Giadwin in his 1967 book, *Poverty U.S.A.*, writes with reference to the Negro: " . . . there is very little evidence that the poor are really getting any richer, that families bedeviled by poverty are becoming any more stable, or that the power for reform has moved away from its traditional locus in the white, middle-class establishment."

These views on the economic plight of nonwhites could be extended almost without limit.

Is there really a statistical case for pessimism about Negro progress?

Is it possible to find statistical support for the view that the Negro is being left behind?

Yes, it is. Many comparisons can be made which make it appear that nonwhites have made little or no relative progress. Let me refer to a few such comparisons.

Nonwhite income relative to white

In 1957 nonwhite median family income in the U.S. was 54 per cent of whites. Six years later in 1963 it was only 53 per cent. This means no relative progress and in fact a relative decline. And this 53 per cent of 1963 was exactly the same as in 1948, a decade and a half earlier. No evidence of catching up here.

Proportion of all poverty families who are nonwhite

Consider the proportion of white vs. nonwhite families in poverty. Using the $3,000 yardstick as the poverty measure, one finds that in 1947 nonwhites constituted 18.6 per cent of all poverty families. By 1964 nonwhites made up 21 per cent of poverty families. Little evidence of relative progress in these statistics.

Finally, one might consider the incidence of poverty. In 1966 only 10 per cent of all white families were classified as in poverty using the Social Security administration's variable poverty index. But for nonwhites the percentage was 41. In other words, the chances of being in poverty in 1966 were four times greater for nonwhite families than for white. That hardly seems to come within the concepts of equality or social justice.

Before one presses the panic button about these statistics, however, one should stop and take a second, careful, look.

A second long look at the nonwhite income statistics

It is important to take a little longer view of white and nonwhite income ratios than cited above. By adding a few years at either end of the comparison span one comes out with quite a different story.

Suppose we take the comparison back to 1939. In that year nonwhite males, a substantial proportion in Southern agriculture, earned only 41 per cent as much as white males. Now come forward to 1966. By 1966 this earlier 41 per cent had risen to nearly 60 per cent. Still a marked differential, but also very substantial progress in closing the gap. In other words, whether or not nonwhites are actually catching up depends entirely on the years selected to begin and end the comparison.

But what about the fact that nonwhites now comprise a bigger proportion of the poverty population today than 17 years ago? The answer is to be found in the fact that American families, both white and nonwhite, have been escaping from poverty at an unprecedented rate—the envy of the rest of the world—it means merely that the rate of escape of the whites has been a little faster, not much, but a little faster, than that of nonwhites, but both are leaving poverty.

In absolute terms the income progress of nonwhites has been spectacular and impressive. In 1947 annual nonwhite median income was $1,614. In 1966 it was $4,628—an increase of $3,014 per year and probably the largest gain in family income for any ethnic group in the world, during this period, except for one group, American whites.

A third look at the nonwhite statistics

Before leaving this subject it might be well to take still another look, a third look, if you will, at the statistics on the occupational and income progress of nonwhites.

We said above, that whereas only 10 per cent of white families were in poverty in 1966, about 40 per cent of nonwhites were so classified. Isn't this a rather gloomy prospect for the latter? I submit that it is not. There are many signs of very remarkable income progress among Negroes in America.

Let's go back to 1950. At that time it is estimated that the Negro middle class in America was almost nonexistent. Using $6,000 per year and up, as evidence of middle-class status, only about 2 per cent of all Negroes were middle class. In 1966 there were 1.8 million nonwhite families with annual incomes over $6,000. Assuming 4.35 persons per family, this means that 7.83 million persons were in the nonwhite middle class in 1966. This represents 37.7 per cent of all nonwhite families and about 33.2 per cent of the total nonwhite population of the United States in 1966.

From 2 per cent to 33 per cent in just 15 years represents one of the greatest "forward leaps" of any ethnic group in the history of this or any other country. This is a 17-fold "upward bound" with few if any parallels.

Is this progress likely to continue? Is this Negro middle class likely to get larger and larger relative to total nonwhite population and relative to whites?

The answer is, judging from recent occupational trends, "yes."

From 1960 to 1966 *Negroes in America made more rapid white collar, occupational progess than whites.*

Let me illustrate this briefly.

In professional, technical and managerial jobs, nonwhite employment, 1960 to 1966, rose 13 per cent. The rise for whites was only 11 per cent.

In clerical employment nonwhite employment rose a very sharp 50 per cent. The rise for whites was 13 per cent.

In sales jobs, nonwhite employment rose a sharp 48 per cent. White employment increased only 10 per cent.

Interestingly enough, Negroes have often complained of being compressed into the least-skilled jobs, as domestic service. Employment among nonwhites in private households fell 7 per cent during 1960 to 1966. But for whites, domestic employment rose 10 per cent.

The lag of some nonwhites

Are all nonwhites participating in this rapid and spectacular movement into the affluent middle class? Unfortunately the answer to this is "no."

It is self-evident that many nonwhite families, as well as white, are being left behind in poverty and the question again is: If many are getting out of poverty—why not all?

This question is too large and involved to deal with properly in this discussion. But it is appropriate here to make note of at least several reasons why some Negroes are not keeping up with other Negroes or relative to whites in Upward Bound.

For one, the *average age* of Negro families *is much lower* than for white. In 1966 the median age of whites in the central cities was 32. The median age for Negroes was 22. Other things being equal,

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this lower average age makes for lower average earnings. Unfortunately, this age gap depressant has widened steadily since 1950.

Secondly, the Negro families are handicapped by larger average size. In 1966 the average size of white families with male heads was 3.7 persons; for nonwhites, it was 4.5. To put the matter somewhat differently: in 1966 the dependency ratio (children under age 18 per 1,000 adult males) for whites was 1,496. For Negroes it was 2,215. Other things being equal, this heavy burden of dependency places a much larger percentage of Negroes in poverty than white, using the variable poverty index. This dependency ratio gap has widened with time.

Third, the Negro families are handicapped by a larger per cent headed by females. Currently the percentage of Negro families headed by a woman is 25; for whites it is only 9. Other things being equal, this difference alone holds Negro median income far below white. And unfortunately again, this nonwhite depressant has risen steadily over time.

The importance of these three sociological factors in holding back more rapid closure of the white-nonwhite income gap can hardly be overemphasized.

Is it not self-evident that if they could be removed, there would be a sudden and dramatic upsurge in economic status of Negro families, relative to white. It would permit almost all of the Negro families now held back in poverty to join with the more favored Negroes in the successful race out of poverty and into affluence.

On the other hand, until these three are removed, then equal employment opportunity, civil rights, full employment can have only limited influence in accelerating the decline of poverty. Time does not permit discussion of the controversial Daniel Moynihan report and the equally controversial reply by Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancy. But the issues need much more study in academic circles than they have received. The economy has done its job. I'm afraid our community agencies haven't done as well.

IV. WHAT ABOUT GHETTO POVERTY: IS IT NOT GETTING WORSE—AND IF IT IS, WHY?

What about ghetto poverty? Isn't it getting worse?

It seems appropriate to break this very large question into a number of smaller and more specific questions. And in so doing it is important to note that there are many, many difficult problems in defining and measuring so-called ghetto areas.

Is poverty primarily or almost exclusively an inner-city ghetto problem? By no means. Poverty is found widespread in many suburban areas and there are probably more persons in poverty in isolated rural areas than in inner cities. It is true, however, that the incidence of poverty is much greater in the central cities. In 1960 about 18 per cent of all families in central cities were classified as in poverty. In the surburban areas only about 10 per cent were so classified.

Are a majority of families living in areas designated as "poverty ghetto areas," actually in poverty? No, they are not. A recent study made by the U.S. Bureau of Census for the Office of Economic Opportunity revealed that of 1.8 million nonwhite families living in such areas, only about 30 per cent had incomes below the poverty level.

Is poverty increasing in the inner-city areas of the nation's big metropolitan areas? Taking the inner cities as a whole, the answer is "no."

At least it was still declining in 1964, the latest year for which we have adequate detailed data. In 1959 about 18 per cent of central city families were classified as in poverty. In 1964 only about 15 per cent were.

Is poverty increasing in *some selected areas within inner cities?* Yes. There is no doubt about this. And this is a matter of great concern. Special census surveys since 1960 reveal ghetto areas with declining income, in selected inner city areas, especially those with high concentration of nonwhites.

Why should poverty be getting worse in selected inner city areas?

Why should poverty be getting worse in *selected* inner city areas? The evidence is probably inadequate to provide a full answer to this question. But there is much evidence to suggest there is considerable irony in the explanation. The decline in some areas is due to the very fact of rapid economic progress in others.

Let me illustrate this point from the penetrating analysis of changes in the south Los Angeles area prepared by Prof. Lowell E. Gallaway. This area includes the Watts area, sight of the tragic riots of several years ago. He found that in the five years preceding 1965 there had been a strong exodus of population out of the area. But it had been a very selective exodus of both white and nonwhites. There was a marked decline in labor force participation rates of males who remained. With the decline in participation came declining average family income. This decline in income would have been even greater had it not been for increased welfare payments. This brought in turn deterioration in family organization and a rise in families headed by women.

In essence what Prof. Gallaway is saying is not all nonwhites originally involved in this area are worse off. True, some are worse off, but in part, at least, this is because others have become much better off and have moved out. This same sharp contrast is found in many other cities.

Related to reshuffling of population within metropolitan areas is another question. Why have we had such a heavy postwar migration into the metropolitan areas in the first place? Once again there is much irony in the answer. It has not been because of the failure of the economy but because of its success. The rapid and probably accelerating forward strides in agricultural technology have released, or if you prefer, displaced, millions of families in low-productivity marginal farm areas. The resulting problems of human adjustment, of confusion, frustration, bitterness, have been all too real and involve too many people. We need to deal with them more effectively. But at the same time one should keep the cause in proper perspective. It has been technical advance, not failure.

V. NEXT STEPS IN POVERTY POLICY

What are the logical next steps in poverty policy?

Perhaps this large question needs to be broken down into more specific questions.

Who constitutes the remaining hard-core poverty population? What can public policy do to help these people, help themselves out of poverty?

Who constitute the hard-core poor?

As indicated earlier the people who still remain in poverty in America today, other than the aged and the ill, are those suffering the consequences of broken homes and excessive child bearing which tends to become self-perpetuating. The evidence on this point is devastating and overwhelming.

About two-thirds of the nearly five million people, three-fourths of them children, are on public welfare aid because of family breakdown. Fathers are absent due to divorce, separation, desertion, or simply never married the mother.

The actual size of this group is larger than indicated above because many states have stringent eligibility restrictions. It has been estimated that probably at least seven million, perhaps eight million, need to be on welfare aid.

This group constitutes a very large segment of the total poverty population.

Let me put these statistics in another way.

Using the Social Security administration's variable poverty index we may note a total poverty population in 1966 of a little under 30 million.

Out of this 30 million, about 15 million were children.

Of these 15 million about one-half were in large families with three or more children.

BLACK STAR PHOTO

While grinding poverty unquestionably exists in parts of America, the pessimistic picture painted by many poverty "experts" is far from accurate.

It is the high and excessive fertility rate and the high incidence of broken homes which explains how so many nonwhite families fail to move up out of poverty along with other nonwhites.

Here again the statistics are sharply revelatory.

Among young families with children under 18 and at home, the decline in poverty families 1959—1966 was a very encouraging -34 per cent for white families.

But it was a discouraging 7 per cent among nonwhite families.

This tells the story of the poverty drag. Not the whole story. But a good part of it.

It explains much of the reason how so many white families and why a substantial group of nonwhite families have been able to move up out of poverty and into the middle-income ranges, while at the same time some families seem unable to get out of poverty.

Can public policy help these remaining poor?

Can public policy help these remaining poor out of poverty?

If I had attempted to answer this question 10 years ago I would have been forced to say "no." "Very little."

Seven years ago the answer would still have been "no."

Five years ago it would have been "no."

Even three years ago it would have been "no."

Why this negativism? Because as recently as three years ago there were six major barriers shutting out an effective public policy approach to poverty. These six barriers warrant brief discussion.

1. Legal barriers: The federal and state courts of the United States for nearly a century imposed unsurmountable obstacles before public agencies, in discussing effective and responsible family planning with poverty people. These legal barriers ended in 1965.

2. Church barriers: Also for centuries many leading church denominations imposed restraints on both public and private agencies in this area. Since the *aggiornamento* of Pope John XXIII's remarkable ecumenical movement these constraints have been basically modified.

3. Location barriers: There has been much public dismay at the postwar migration to the cities of so many families from low-education areas. But as long as such a substantial proportion of our population remained underemployed in marginal agriculture and in dispersed, remote, isolated, rural areas, there was no possible way of reaching them. They can be reached by central health agencies in our inner cities, today.

4. Congressional barrier: For decades the Congress of the United States was unwilling to face up to the consequences of its own welfare policies. On Jan. 2, 1968, the President signed Public Law 90-248—one of the truly revolutionary social documents of our time. For the first time, it authorizes and provides modest funds for family planning among the poor.

5. Medical technology barriers: Until very recently there were no simple, safe, effective, inexpensive methods for family planning. Only the educated, high-income families had access to such means. This medical technology barrier exists no more.

6. Sociological barriers: Many knowledgeable social scientists only a few years ago expressed reasonable doubts about the desire of poor families in the urban ghettoes, to help themselves out of poverty through child planning. Extensive research and clinical demonstration projects now provide a certain answer. They are interested, they will. Society is not dealing with animals. It is dealing with people who want help. They want it desperately. And they will use it effectively.

With these six formidable barriers now down one can confidently hope that federal, state and local agencies in the welfare field will continue resources to provide multi-health services to the remaining poor. And if this is done, one can look forward not to a "slow up" in poverty reduction, but a genuine "speed up" instead.

Your generation can realistically look forward to the virtual end of poverty in America—not through politically oriented anti-poverty programs, *after the fact*, but through *preventive* programs that will help all groups, white and nonwhite, help themselves out of poverty.

In summary—

The U.S. is not really filled with poverty.

Poverty in America has declined steadily over the years. It is at an all-time low.

There is no evidence of any "slow up" in poverty reduction.

Poverty is not massive. Measured by income statistics, only about 15 per cent of the population still remains in poverty. Measured by consumer goods and services, probably less than 5 per cent should be classified in poverty. No group should be designated as "hopelessly trapped."

The Negro in America is not being left behind in poverty. In fact, the rate of his movement into the middle class in recent years has been more rapid than that of whites.

The outlook for those remaining today in poverty has never been better. The six great barriers which in the past made much of hard-core poverty, self-perpetuating and unapproachable—these have all come down in the last 36 months.

With hard work and application, every community should begin in 1968, certainly a turning-point year, to reach its hard-core poverty population as never before—and help them to help themselves out of poverty, which is, after all, in the American tradition.

Do we need to be concerned about this remaining problem of poverty? Yes, very much so.

But let's not forget that although we still have a considerable distance to go, we have also come a very long, long way out of the poverty past. We should be able to go a long way into the affluent future.

In pursuing the task of eliminating the remaining poverty in our midst, we should all constantly remind ourselves of the urgent necessity for study, research and questioning, to the end that we may distinguish between fact and fiction, and between the poverty myth and the reality.

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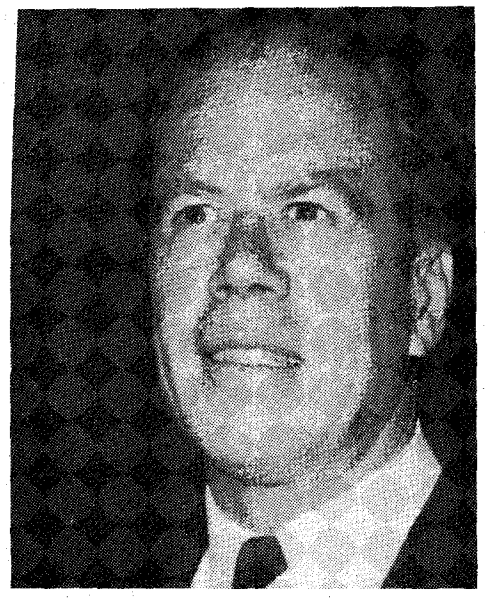

In 1952, Earl Warren, then governor of California, appointed State Controller Tom Kuchel to the Senate to fill the seat vacated by Richard Nixon.

Behind Warren's Resignation

Chief Justice considered Sen. Kuchel's June primary defeat a personal affront

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Chief Justice Earl Warren's decision to resign his post was precipitated on June 5 when he picked up his morning newspaper and learned that California Republicans had put an end to the political career of his protege, Sen. Thomas Kuchel.

Kuchel's unexpected defeat in the California primary aroused both anger and apprehension in the chief justice. His sense of outrage was compounded by the identity of the winner—State Superintendent of Schools Max Rafferty—a conservative who had vigorously criticized "the Warren Court."

As the story is told by a Democratic leader on intimate terms with President Johnson, Warren promptly confided to the President his fears that a conservative tide was rising in the nation that would sweep into office next January a Republican President, most probably Richard M. Nixon, whom Warren personally detests.

With Warren, 77, and three other elderly justices as prospective retirees within a few months or years, such a chief executive would have power to select replacements who could alter what liberals describe as the "activist" role of the legislative field.

With time running out to save the court from this obnoxious development, the chief justice was prepared, he informed the President, to resign, permitting Johnson to name his successor in the few months of his term.

He might even be able, he hinted, to prevail upon one or two of his brethren to join him in this sacrificial act.

The President wasted little time trying to persuade Warren to remain. The two men discussed possible nominees. When Johnson suggested the elevation of Associate Justice Abe Fortas, Warren voiced his warm approval.

A tentative bargain was also reached—to "take care of" lame duck Kuchel with an appointment to the Circuit Court of Appeals. A new law has provided the President with the authority to fill a number of judicial vacancies.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, acquainted with this proposal, studied Kuchel's record and found that he has had so little legal experience that he lacks a rating in the official California listing of lawyers from that state. The Senate, however, routinely approves nominations for colleagues in distress.

Warren's official letter of resignation and an accompanying note of explanation were sent to the White House June 13, one week after the President and the chief justice had conferred. Not until Sunday, June 23, however, did the President, in a series of telephone calls to Capitol Hill leaders, confirm its receipt and his intention to nominate Fortas and another old friend, Judge Homer Thornberry of Texas. They warned him that these appointments would arouse criticism but promised to do their utmost in securing the Senate's confirmation in the five weeks remaining before congressional adjournment.

The Capitol Hill informant discounted Warren's contention that he was quitting solely because of his advancing years. The chief justice, healthy and happy with his prestige, would have remained, he said, if he had believed that a liberal Democrat like Vice President Humphrey would be elected in November or a liberal Republican like Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller. He had taken comfort from polls indicating that Nixon would be defeated by Humphrey.

But Rafferty's upset of Kuchel destroyed his faith in polls. They had shown Kuchel, a previous winner in three re-election campaigns, with a long lead over Rafferty.

Warren enjoyed almost a father-son relationship to Kuchel. As governor of California, Warren had plucked Kuchel from obscurity to make him state controler and later sent him to Washington to fill a Senate vacancy. Kuchel responded by loyal obeisance to the Warren brand of Republicanism, which is virtually indistinguishable from the philosophy of liberal Democrats.

"He took Kuchel's defeat as a personal affront, as the President got the message," the congressional source said. "It was clear that he wanted revenge on both California Republicans and the party as a whole. He could not tolerate the prospect of Nixon as President.

"President Johnson did not agree with these gloomy views of a Democratic defeat. But he could not reject this marvelous farewell gift in the closing months of his Administration."

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the second installment of our regular pre-election feature, 'Races of the Week.' Each week until November, Human Events will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

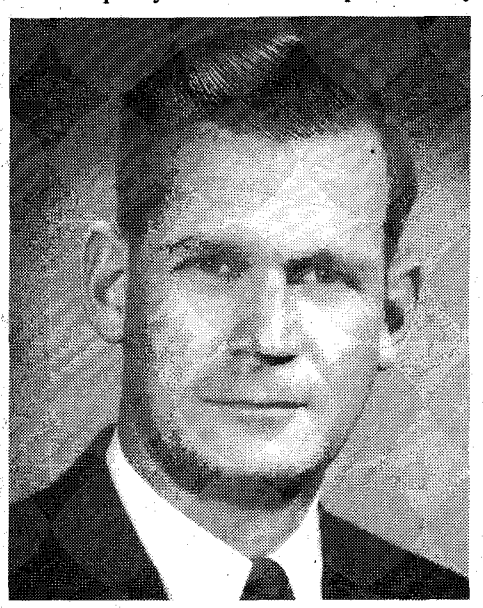
S.C. Senate Contest

Parker vs. Hollings

It was a precarious coalition that carried Democrat Ernest F. Hollings into the U.S. Senate two years ago. The former governor received the near-unanimous support of Negro voters at the same time he ran strongly in many segregationist strongholds. The result was a narrow, 11,758-vote victory over Republican Marshall Parker for the unexpired term of the late Sen. Olin Johnston.

In two years, Hollings has seriously jeopardized that coalition, with the result that Republican leaders believe Parker, who is running again, has an excellent chance of victory. Hollings first alienated Negro voters by opposing the Supreme Court appointment of Thurgood Marshall, then failed to deliver on a reported promise to secure a major federal post for a prominent South Carolina Negro.

In an obvious attempt to rebuild his Negro fences, Hollings toured South Carolina poverty areas in January, vowing support for the "War on Poverty" and federal housing programs. Then, in an equally obvious attempt to curry segregationist support, Hollings denounced the Administration's civil rights bill as "Ridiculous." (Months later when it came up for a vote, Hollings was nowhere to be found.)



MARSHALL PARKER

Hollings now finds himself on the horns of still another dilemma as the Senate considers the nomination of Abe Fortas as Supreme Court chief justice. The freshman solon has thus far refused comment on Fortas but he has said that he will join in no filibuster to prevent confirmation—a position that Parker has assailed with considerable effectiveness.

Parker, who garnered 48.7 per cent of the vote two years ago, is hitting hard at Hollings' efforts to appease both liberals and conservatives. "He went up to Washington with instructions to make himself an ultra-conservative, and on some issues he has," Parker says. "Yet the Americans for Constitutional Action gave him a very low rating (46 per cent)."

Parker is campaigning energetically. (Parker for Senate Committee, P.O. Box 5895, Columbia, S.C.) In two days last week he sought out voters from Columbia to Charleston to the Gilbert Peach Festival and found "widespread disenchantment" with Hollings. Parker has been promised all-out support from GOP Sen. Strom Thurmond and party leaders claim a GOP tide is sweeping the state.

They point to the recent elections in Anderson, long a Democratic bastion, where Republicans won seven of eight seats on the City Council and ousted from the mayor's office the brother of the revered Olin Johnston. GOP leaders hope for substantial Democratic defections, noting that Hollings has been feuding with Gov. Robert McNair and that other top Democrats—including State Sen. Edgar Brown and Rep. William J. B. Dorn—have criticized Hollings sharply.

N.C. 6th District

Osteen vs. Preyer

The decision of four-term Rep. Horace Kornegay not to seek re-election gives North Carolina Republicans an excellent chance to pick up their fourth House seat.

And nowhere in the Tarheel State will the issues be more clearly drawn than in the 6th District, represented since 1961 by the conservative Kornegay (ADA rating: 7). Republican nominee William L. Osteen is a personable young conservative; his Democratic opponent, L. Richardson Preyer is a liberal who was rejected by Democratic voters when he sought his party's gubernatorial nomination four years ago.

At 37, Osteen is a political veteran. Elected to the legislature in 1961 and 1963, he twice served as minority leader of the General Assembly. He did not seek re-election but has spent the past several years working for a strong party organization throughout the state.

Two years ago that organization came within 2,677 votes of ousting Kornegay and Democratic leaders reacted predictably. The 6th District lines were altered to give the Democrats a 56-to-44 edge, based on the 1966 congressional returns.

"At first blush," concedes a GOP strategist, "that looks like something less than optimum." But further analysis indicates considerable GOP strength throughout the new district. Richard Nixon carried it with 54 per cent of the vote eight years ago and, if he gets the nomination, should repeat the trick. The GOP has captured the district in the past two gubernatorial elections and is expected to do so again this fall.

WILLIAM OSTEEN

The 37-year-old Osteen is an effective campaigner with proved strength in Democratic areas. Attractive and articulate, he comes across well on television and hopes to make wide use of it during the campaign. (Osteen for Congress Committee, 2604 Battleground Ave., Greensboro, N.C. 27405.)

The presence on the ballot of third-party candidate George Wallace is likely to hurt Preyer, a former federal judge, whose liberal reputation is well known. Argues a GOP leader: "It is inconceivable that a Democrat who votes for Wallace would return to the Democratic line to vote for Preyer."

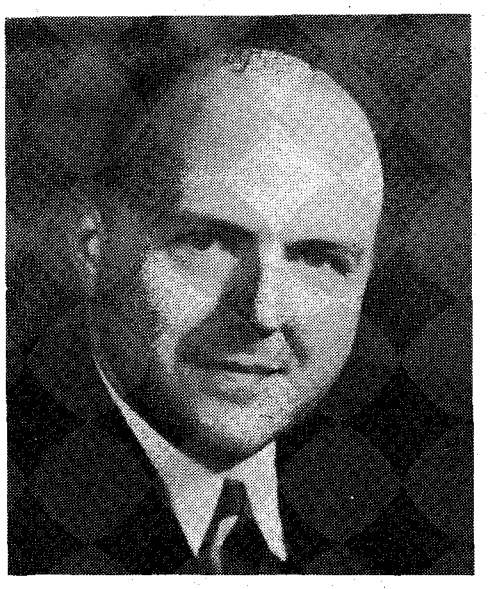
The 6th District seat is one of five that North Carolina Republicans feel they can pick up. Democrats concede that the GOP is likely to capture at least three new seats, which would make North Carolina the first Southern state to boast a GOP majority in its congressional delegation.

Illinois' 10th District

Hoellen vs. Pucinski

During his first eight years in Congress, Chicago's Roman Pucinski established a solidly liberal voting record, leading the fight for civil rights and other "equal opportunity" measures.

But when Pucinski returned to Washington in January 1967, he laid down his liberal banner and emerged as a "representative of my constituents." He opposed the seating of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, voted for stiff anti-riot penalties, assailed plans to bus Negro children into his district, and finally voted against the Administration's "open housing" bill, the only big city Northern Democrat to so vote.



JOHN HOELLEN

Behind this turnabout is the narrow 3,752-vote victory (50.9 per cent) he scored over Republican John J. Hoellen in 1966. Studying the returns from his predominantly white, blue-collar district, Pucinski became convinced that it was his support of Negro rights that had threatened his political career.

Pucinski's about-face may have backfired. Press criticism has been sharp and Republican Hoellen has repeatedly hit the change as the desperate move of a cynical politician. Hoellen, a hard-hitting campaigner, has been scoring points as he links Pucinski with LBJ and demonstrates that the congressman's "conversion" has been on the race issue only.

On every other rollcall—foreign aid, rent subsidies, model cities, the "War on Poverty"—Pucinski has lined up with the liberal bloc to support higher government spending. The 54-year-old Hoellen, a member of the Chicago City Council for 22 years, has impeccable conservative credentials and heads the outmanned "economy bloc" that repeatedly takes on Mayor Richard Daley and his council lackeys.

An effective campaigner who cut Pucinski's margin 6 percentage points in 1966, Hoellen promises the same kind of tough, aggressive race this time out. (Hoellen for Congress Committee: 4737 North Western Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60625).

Realizing that he is in the toughest fight of his political career, Pucinski returns home at least once a week to press the flesh. He has been promised massive aid from organized labor (which appreciates his 96 per cent support on rollcall votes).

Hoellen terms Viet Nam a major issue of the campaign. Noting that Pucinski has given the Administration's vacillating policy wholehearted support, the GOP nominee says: "It is a war in which more than half a million young Americans are engaged in pursuit of goals that are nebulous, maybe even impossible to attain. And now even more American boys are being demanded to throw into that war."

Hoellen says that the war at home matches Viet Nam as an issue. "Terror in the streets of the big cities, Chicago included, threatens to engulf every citizen. At night, and in some neighborhoods, people walk in fear. And in large sections of the city, the streets have become the 'turf' of marauding street gangs and other criminals."

Other major issues, says Hoellen, include the "fiscal insanity" of the Johnson Administration, the "intrusion of the federal government in City Hall," and an "international myopia which renders the Administration unable to see at near-point the disasters in the making in Latin America."

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After 36-Year Reign

Will Sweden Oust the Socialists?

By NILS-ERIC BRODIN

There is an old saying which goes: "You can fool all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time." It appears that the truth of this truism is becoming increasingly clear for the Socialist parties of Scandinavia.

In 1965 the Socialists of Norway ended their 30-year-old reign in Norway. In January 1968 the Socialists of Denmark had to turn over their government after 15 years. The question now is will 1968 be the year in which the Socialists of Sweden end their almost 36-year-old reign?

The predictions in Sweden are that this indeed is what will take place. A foretaste of this defeat could already be seen in the 1966 municipal elections in Sweden. In those elections Socialist majorities were thrown out in five provincial legislatures and in the city councils of the two largest cities. No less than 81.7 per cent of the eligible electorate participated, and of the four million who voted, no less than 10 per cent of them were youth voting for the first time, showing a definite wave of the future. Sweden's young people are showing disenchantment with the "welfare state" to which they are compelled to contribute so disproportionate a share.

To project the political developments in Sweden in 1968, we might well look at the last few years' events in the two neighboring countries, Denmark and Norway. Together with Sweden, these Scandinavian countries have a combined population roughly that of California. From a long history of warfare, Sweden ended its last conflict in 1814, when Denmark had to cede Norway to Sweden, a union which was dissolved when Norway received its complete independence from Sweden in 1905. Being racially and linguistically siblings, the Scandinavian countries have often exhibited a kind of "sibling rivalry" which most likely also grows out of an envy of Sweden's clearly superior affluence, and its beneficial neutrality during the past two wars.

The three Scandinavian countries have long exhibited similar patterns of social and political developments. This includes the gradual ascendancy of the Socialist (or labor) parties and the proliferation of the welfare state. It is therefore very interesting to note the close interdependence which is evident in the political changes of the three countries during the past few years.

The Socialists in Denmark, for example, have been able to stay in power for 15 years because of an explicit promise by Prime Minister Jens Otto Krag that he would form no political alliance with the extreme left. But when in 1966 the Socialists lost heavily, Krag felt compelled to lean toward the extreme left for the necessary support to be able to stay in power.

The party to the left of Krag's Socialists was Aksel Larsen's "Folk Socialists," a left-wing Socialist party which had recently broken out of the Danish Communist party, and now assumed a Titoist stance of national independence from the Moscow directives. The party, created in 1965, assumed a role of a bridge between the right-wing Communists and the left-wing Socialists. The result of Krag's overtures toward this party was that it lost the confidence of the parliament, and in the January elections was thrown out by the electorate.

Since the defeat of the Socialists at the municipal elections in Sweden in 1966, the tendency of the Swedish Socialists has also been to turn to the left for support. Having decreased in vote from 50.4 to 42.2 per cent, 1962-1966, the Swedish Socialists clearly saw the handwriting on the wall, and therefore began to make their overtures toward the extreme left.

On the left of them in Sweden were the Communists. But here too a split has recently taken place, similar to the splits in the Communist parties of Norway and Denmark. The Communists have split into bourgeoise-factions which sought to abandon their old rigid "class-warfare" fervor and move toward alliances with the non-Communist left. On the other hand, a smaller band of orthodox Marxist-Leninists, with Maoist loyalties and often composed of younger members, activists and intellectuals, developed within the Communist parties of Scandinavia.

As part of the "bourgeoisification" of the Communist parties of Scandinavia can be seen their name changes. An attempt to change the name of the Swedish Communist party did not succeed as well as in Denmark and Norway, however, and they now carry a rather cumbersome hyphenated name, the Left Party/the Communists (*Vansterpartiet/Komunisterna*).

The Communist party in Sweden has never been a very large party. At the present time it has only 2.3 per cent of the parliamentary representation. But, partly as a result of its new image, its share of the electorate has increased from 3.8 per cent in 1962 to 6.4 per cent in 1966, at the expense of its Socialist confreres. Since the division between the labor parties and the bourgeoise parties in the Swedish parliament has been so equal, the Socialists have long been forced to rely on legislative victories by support from the Communists. In fact, in many instances their legislative victories could not have been obtained without this necessary support from the Communists.

It is these promissory notes which a smug Communist party can now begin to cash in. The radicalization in the Socialists' policies is clearly at the behest of their uncomfortable, but so very necessary alliance with the Communists.

Abetted by the pressures of the left-wing elements within their own party, and their youth organization, the Socialists are currently attempting to carry through a crash program of radical socialization. They are fighting desperately for continued political survival, knowing that in 1968 they may be "going down for the third time."

Among the radical proposals have been the socialization of the housing supply industries, drug manufacturing companies, the establishment of a national credit reserve bank, and the municipal ownership of land. The National Credit Bank is already in operation, in competition with commercial banks, and the new "land law" now provides for municipal priority rights in the purchase of any plot of land with a value of $40,000 or a size of 3,000 square meters.

Much of the disenchantment with the Socialists has come about from the Socialist housing policy which has contributed to there being a 10-year waiting period for apartments in some cities. Finally, the government promised that the opposition's decade-old demands for the elimination of most rent controls would be brought up for a vote in parliament. But under pressure from the Communists the Socialists decided suddenly to withdraw this proposal.

It is relatively safe to assume that the September elections in Sweden this year will bring in a new government. With this in mind, we might well ask ourselves the question, "What kind of government will Sweden then have?"

Here again we might look for precedents in the coalition governments of Norway and Denmark, which followed the defeats of their respective Socialist governments. The 1965 elections of Norway brought about a coalition government of the Conservatives, the Liberals and the Center (formerly Agrarians) with the premier chosen from the center. In Demark the coalition is between the Conservatives, the Moderate Liberals and the Radical Liberals, with the premier chosen from the latter, the smallest of the parties in the coalition.

In Sweden the new government would be formed by a coalition of the Conservatives (14.7 per cent of the 1966 vote), the Liberals (13.9 per cent) and the Center party (formerly Agrarians) with 13.7 per cent. In a wide sampling *Dagens Nyeheter*, Sweden's largest daily, more than 16,000 readers indicated that in the case of an opposition party victory in the 1968 fall elections, their choice for premier would be Gunnar Hedlund, the head of the Center party, the smallest of the democratic opposition. Here again can be seen remarkable parallels to developments in the other Scandinavian countries.

Will there be any essential changes in the course of socialization in Sweden? It is difficult to predict the future, but if the results of the Norwegian coalition are any indication, or the policies of the Conservative governments of Great Britain or Austria, there is little hope that any essential changes in policy will take place. Once established, it is well-nigh impossible to remove social or welfare legislation.

The extensive proliferation of the "welfare state" syndrome in Scandinavia during three decades makes it difficult to remove any of these programs. The often fragile coalitions between the coalition parties make any distinctive "conservative" counter-measures unlikely. As far as actual political philosophy, the Conservative parties of Scandinavia and elsewhere in Western Europe could be placed somewhere in the center of the Democratic party in the U.S.

Although we might not be able to expect revolutionary changes in Sweden's social and political make-up, it is at least encouraging to note that the tyranny of power which the Socialists have so long arrogated to itself, may finally, after 36 long and bleak years, be successfully broken.

Mr. Brodin, a native of Sweden, is currently a visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. After graduating from San Francisco State College with a B.A. in 1963, he received a M.A. in Scandinavian Studies at the University of California at Berkeley in 1965. He has contributed articles to many journals in Sweden and the United States and was a columnist for the Daily Californian *1963-1965.*

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By M. Stanton Evans
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Cause for Shame

Administration refuses to declassify documents on forced Russian repatriation

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Twenty-three years after the Yalta conference there are still some things about which the United States government finds it advisable to remain discreetly silent. One of these is slave labor after the end of World War II. Another is the forced repatriation of Russians rounded up after the defeat of Germany. A third is the mass expulsion of Germans from their ancestral homes in Eastern and East Central Europe.

Stanley Resor, secretary of the Army, has been constrained to refuse the demand of a member of the research staff

Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, by their deliberations at the Yalta Conference, helped bring about the chaotic German situation. Some 18 million Germans were forced to leave their homes in the East, with about two million perishing in the process.

at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace for access to documents relating to the roundup of Russians and their transportation back to the Soviet Union.

The application, made by Julius Epstein, who hoped to include the material in a historical work, cited the "Freedom of Information" act which became effective last year. It permits documents to be declassified if there is no danger to national defense or security.

Resor had an excuse for dodging. The documents, he said, were an international compilation over which the United States did not have sole jurisdiction. The British, he said, would have to be consulted. Meanwhile, he suggested that Epstein "exhaust" other administrative procedures for getting a look at them. Epstein says he has been trying for 14 years.

Some 900,000 anti-Communist Russians were shipped home from Germany after the war, with the certain prospect of becoming inmates of slave labor camps or facing a firing squad. President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill of Britain countenanced this operation at Yalta.

They also agreed with the Soviet dictator, Josef Stalin, that Russia was to have "the use of German labor" as a form of reparations. In deference to their own sensibilities, the two Western humanitarians buried the provision in a secret protocol.

The stipulation that the Western powers were to hand back to Stalin his runaway subjects placed American and British military authorities in the role of slave catchers, rounding up refugees from Soviet tyranny.

Hundreds of thousands of German soldiers taken prisoner after their country was defeated were transported to forced labor in the Soviet Union. Years after the end of the war broken survivors were still coming home to Germany. Britain and France also availed themselves of German forced labor The British had at least 500,000 prisoners at work for them, and a third of these had been supplied from United States and Canadian prisoner-of-war camps.

Equally savage was the fate of the Great Germans who had been living for hundreds of years in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as the Germans of East Prussia, parceled out at Yalta to Poland and the Soviet Union, and of eastern Germany, handed over to Poland.

It has been estimated that 18 million Germans were forced out of their homes and set on the road westward. More than two million men, women and children are believed to have died in the expulsion.

Churchill, who originally declared that "the expulsion of the Germans is the most satisfactory medium to liquidate the German East," changed his tune after shocked voices in England were heard to say that this uprooting of human beings was the most enormous official atrocity in the world's history. He then saw fit to describe the program which he had sanctioned as "tragedy on a prodigious scale."

None of this, of course, makes Hitler or the Nazis the more admirable. The sad fact is that in war nations which proclaim themselves moral often adopt the most evil practices of the enemy they condemn as immoral.

The thwarted Hoover Institution author concedes that the documents denied him could embarrass a lot of people, but argues that embarrassment is not a sufficient reason to continue suppressing them. History, after all, has been embarrassing rulers and statemen and showing up their feet of clay since the beginning of recorded time.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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The Conservative Trend Moves East

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The noise is made by the liberal Republicans who are avidly playing up to the "Kennedy vote." But the Republican conservative tide still runs strong to defeat the liberals in the primaries.

Everyone knows by now that Max Rafferty, the conservative California educator who is for a stiff stand against crime in the streets, beat incumbent liberal Republican Sen. Tom Kuchel in a primary that the pollsters had said would go to Kuchel by a safe margin. But not much has been heard of some equally astounding upsets on the other rim of the continent in New York state.

The strangest conservative victory of all occurred in a contest for Republican nominee for the State Assembly in John Lindsay's old upper East Side bailiwick in New York City. Tom Brownell, the son of former Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, had Lindsay's explicit endorsement for the designation. But Peter Hoguet, who had broken with the Republican party in 1965 in the New York City mayoralty election to act as chairman of "Republicans for William F. Buckley" (he had Clare Boothe Luce, former Congressman Frederic Coudert, and former Ambassador to Cuba Earl E.T. Smith on his letterhead), beat Brownell out. This must rate as an astonishing upset, for the upper East Side has been "Lindsay country" for quite some time.

Going north to the Bronx, in the 24th Congressional District, Alexander Sacks, a Republican who gets Conservative party endorsement, beat a Lindsay-backed candidate in the primary. He will be opposed in November by the super-liberal Democrat, Jonathan Bingham, and, considering the fact that Bingham has many conservative enemies in his own party, Sacks could make it all the way to Washington.

It was out on Long Island and in the upper-tier counties of New York state, however, that the conservative trend showed to most startling advantage. In the part of Nassau County that comprises the 5th Congressional District, a Conservative party designee, Mason Hampton, entered the Republican primary on a cross-endorsement arrangement and won the nomination. Hampton will run in the fall on both the Republican and Conservative lines, and this despite the fact that both Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Jacob Javits are still urging Republican repudiation of official Conservative party support.

The 5th Congressional District will be spotlighted nationally, for Hampton's Democratic opponent is Allard K. Lowenstein, the high-level McCarthy strategist and City College of New York teacher of law who started the "Dump Lyndon Johnson" movement last fall.

In another Nassau County district, the 4th, the Republican candidate, the incumbent Congressman John Wydler, has accepted Conservative party endorsement for the first time. And in Suffolk County, at the eastern end of Long Island, another Republican candidate for Congress, James P. Grover, is also appearing for the first time on the Conservative line.

This rush to get Conservative endorsement has extended to the Niagara region, where Henry P. Smith, running for Congress from Bill Miller's old district, is a Republican-Conservative designee. In other "northern tier" districts, Robert C. McEwen and Carleton J. King have defied the Rockefeller ban and accepted both Republican and Conservative nominations.

The nation as a whole is well aware that Republican conservatism, lining up behind Nixon for the most part, is hardly a marginal phenomenon anywhere west of the Alleghenies. But it is not sufficiently appreciated that New York state is also affected by the conservative tide. Some of the surprises next November could occur in the most surprising places of all, right in the "liberal" Northeast.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Court Appointments

By SEN. HOWARD BAKER (R.-Tenn.)

Clearly the Supreme Court has been a controversial branch of government in the last several years. The so-called Warren Court has moved into areas heretofore not considered the province of the judicial department of government. Many have interpreted their decisions, with varying degrees of accuracy, as judicial legislation.

Just recently, as part of the Crime Control Act of 1968, an effort was made to limit severely the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. While this effort was not successful, Congress did modify several recent Supreme Court decisions by enacting provisions pertaining to the admissibility of confessions and the like.

In my view, it is absolutely essential that the American people respect and have confidence in the Supreme Court and in the American system of justice. Today, it is obvious that this confidence is not present.

I note that the two men whom the President would appoint have been longtime political associates of the President. I do not believe that the necessary confidence in and respect for the High Court can be established when appointments are made on that basis.

My opposition is not directed personally at President Johnson, or at Justice Fortas—a Tennessee native, by the way—or at Judge Thornberry.

I believe that positions on the Supreme Court are of such significance that when coupled with the certainty that there will be a new administration in January, the new administration, whether Republican or Democratic, should have the opportunity to designate the new chief justice and the new associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Unalienable Rights

By REP. GLENN CUNNINGHAM (R.-Neb.)

I suppose that the best-known and most treasured words of the Declaration of Independence are "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness"—our "unalienable rights," in other words. As I look over the events of the Johnson-Humphrey years, I cannot help wondering what has happened to these rights. Let us consider them.

- *First, "Life." How safe are our lives at night on a dark street? Or in our homes, for that matter? We have reached the point in this country when the Supreme Court is more concerned with protecting the criminal from society than protecting the law-abiding citizen.*
- *How much "liberty" do we enjoy when a curfew imposed by fear keeps us imprisoned in our homes after dark? When the foods we use are priced almost out of our reach because of inflation caused by federal government spending? And when our candidates for high offices must be heavily guarded?*
- *How can we "pursue happiness" when our sons are drafted to fight a war our vice president now tells us we never intended to win? When bankruptcy stares us in the face? When the liberals force a tax boost? When our national enemies treat us with open contempt?*

HUD's Costly Request

By SEN. GORDON ALLOTT (R.-Colo.)

I have just had the opportunity to read a document released by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Urban Transit Administration entitled "Tomorrow's Transportation."

This booklet is actually a summation of 17 studies on urban transportation which HUD contracted for with transportation consultant and engineering firms in an effort to give our government a "sense of direction" in this whole field.

While I will not deny that some valuable points were made by some of the consultants in their reports, the over-all picture presented in the HUD booklet left me amazed and stunned.

Here we are at a time when our financial situation is so bad that we have had to cut $6 billion in expenditures for the next fiscal year and we have had to impose a surcharge tax increase on our people to help make up for the irresponsibilities of the past. Then comes HUD with a proposal to spend $980 million—almost $1 billion in research and development in urban transit over a minimum of five years.

While our major rail rapid transit systems are being taxed to the limit, while large cities all over the country are finding it difficult to find the money to solve their transit problems, while bus systems in medium and small American cities are going broke or out of business by the dozens, HUD is asking the Congress to spend almost a billion dollars—not to solve these existing problems, mind you—but for research for exotic systems such as personal rapid transit cars and small buses that are furnished to passengers with the aid of computers.

We have not even come close to spending a billion federal dollars to assist our rapid transit systems which need help in this country since the urban transit program began. How can we justify pouring this kind of money into exotic schemes when we have not settled the problems of the present?

I think people will understand my amazement more clearly when they begin to think of what can be done in urban transit within the realm of reality for under a billion dollars.

You could buy 32,667 new 51-passenger buses.

About 50 Cleveland Airport rapid transit extensions could be built.

You would be able to construct and equip nearly 10 Delaware River Port Authority rapid transit lines.

In fact the whole BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) system in San Francisco could be built for just a little more than $980 million.

I think I speak for many in the Congress when I say that we are becoming weary of endless studies and plans which have little or no bearing on the problems with which we are confronted.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

- The House Ways and Means Committee is continuing hearings on LBJ's **Trade Expansion Act** (HR 17551) to provide a two-year extension of presidential tariff negotiating powers. Although Administration trade policy has been softened by adjusting provisions to aid industries most hurt by imports, some strong U.S. companies are still calling for continued, or increased, tariff protection from foreign competition.

- The House Foreign Affairs Committee has reported a $2.4-billion **Foreign Aid Authorization bill** (HR 15263), a cut of $600 million from the Administration's request. Military aid comprises only $390 million of the total aid package. Congressional conservatives maintain that the committee cut is still insufficient and are preparing for a bigger slice, with some estimates ranging up to a whopping $1-billion foreign aid reduction.

- The Senate has quietly shunted aside an Administration bill (S 3465) to **grant broad new powers to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission**, representing a signal triumph for Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.). Fannin had persuaded the Republican Senate leadership to threaten a filibuster of the bill, which had been passed by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, because it authorized the EEOC to issue sweeping cease-and-desist orders against employers and unions if charges of discrimination against them were upheld in EEOC-conducted hearings. It is now considered unlikely that the bill will be revived.

- The Senate Education subcommittee has reported and sent to its parent Labor and Public Welfare Committee a $1-billion bill to **aid needy college students** without the House-approved amendment preventing aid to students who refuse to obey "a lawful regulation or order" of his college if school officials agree that the refusal contributed to the "disruption of university or college administration." The Senate subcommittee also deleted another House amendment which would cut off aid funds to persons convicted in any court of inciting or participating in a riot. If these amendments are not added on the Senate floor, House conservatives can be expected to lobby for their retention in conference.

- The House has passed and sent to the Senate a bill (HR 18037) **appropriating $17.2 billion for the Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Departments**, but not without drawing blood from the Administration budget. Among the budgets approved for HEW agencies were: $1.8 billion for the poverty-warring Office of Economic Opportunity, a cut of $307 million from LBJ's request (but still an increase of $100 million over last year); $3.4 billion for the Office of Education, a cut of $600 million; and $1.3 billion in aid to elementary and secondary schools, a slash of $200 million.

- The House Agriculture Committee is considering a bill (S 3068) increasing the budget for the **Food Stamp Program** from $225 million to $245 million for fiscal 1969. The Food Stamp program is designed to assist "poverty families" in buying food essentials at lower prices. The Senate passed this authorization bill unanimously.

- The **Omnibus Housing Bill** (S 3497), passed by the Senate by a vote of 67 to 4, is now before the House. This bill is intended to provide low-income housing for the poor through federal assistance in buying, building and renting living space. Included in the bill's $4.95-billion budget are authorizations for $1.4 billion for urban renewal programs and $12 million for model cities planning grants.

- The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported an Administration bill (HR 15758) which **extends federal grants for health services to migratory workers** for heart disease, cancer and stroke. The bill, authorizing appropriations of $74 million in fiscal 1969 and $137 million in fiscal 1970, also provides grants for the care of alcoholics and drug addicts.

Nuclear Treaty

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

The celebration of the approval by the United Nations of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty was more than somewhat ironic. In a small way, the treaty seems sensible, but its basic meaning is the opposite of what the celebrants want to believe. The meaning of the treaty comes not from its words, but from the political realities it is based on. In this treaty, this reality is the United States nuclear umbrella. The deal is really simple: if nations which do not have nuclear weapons will agree not to develop them, the United States will agree to protect them from nuclear attack even at the risk of her own destruction. Russia also pledges this protection, but no nation will trust Russia's promise. The decisions of the non-nuclear nations to ratify the treaty depend on whether they rely on the American guarantee. The irony is that the voices loudest in condemning American over-commitment are the very ones that are loudest in celebrating this treaty. It does not represent much change in long-standing policy, but the tone of the celebration overlooks the life-and-death United States commitments which are the core of the pact.

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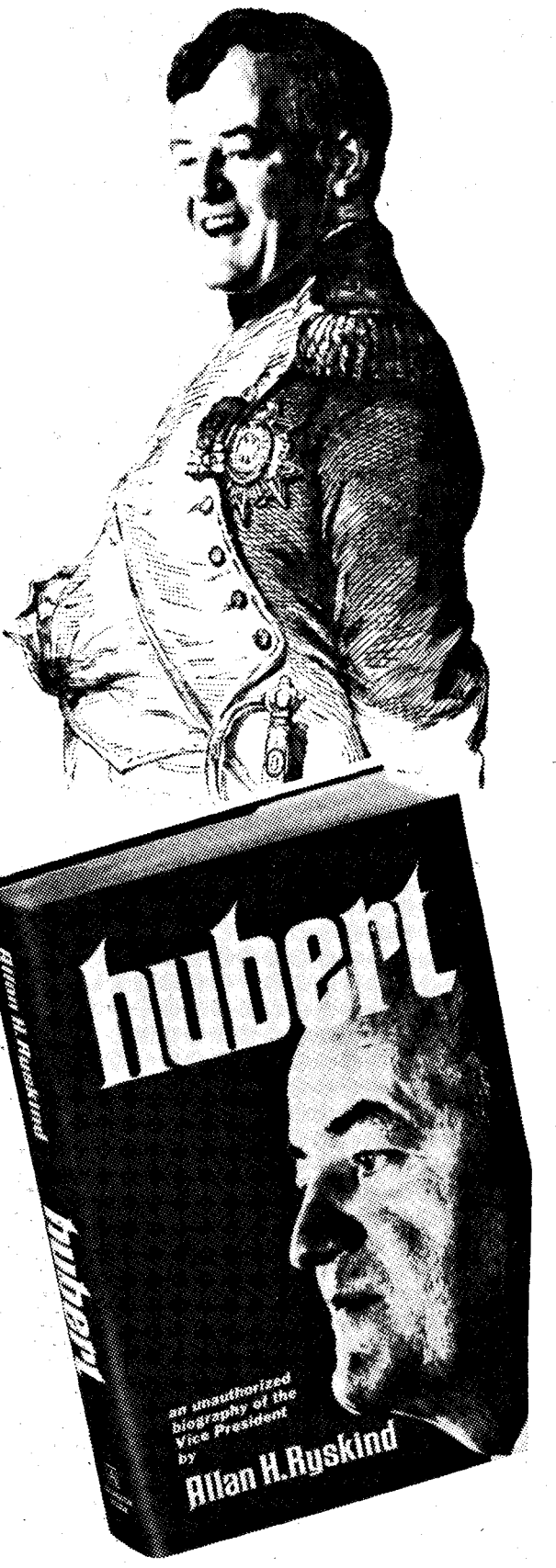

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HIS FELLOW SENATORS called him Gabby, Flannelmouth, Whippersnapper, Pipsqueak, even harsher names.

Lyndon, at least until yesterday, treated him like a cowhand down at the ranch. "Hubert, did I hear you belch?" so goes one of the stories floating around Washington. "No, Mr. President. Was I supposed to?"

Now he is being hailed, by ADA types with tired blood, as a moderate. Yet Norman Thomas once pointed to him as "the type of Democrat I like and one who would be a Socialist if he got to England."

Where lies the real Hubert? *Is* there a real Hubert? Allan Ryskind has peeked into the closets where the skeletons are kept, and here's just a sample of what he's found:

• Hubert's early alliance with Eugene McCarthy.

• The Evangelist of the Welfare State. Hubert urges price control, wage control, controls over medicine and the arts, a Soviet-style Seven-Year Plan for the farmers, a federal crusade against "noxious weeds," a federal "house gardening program to assist needy persons," and – we kid you not – a $50,000 government loan to boil potatoes.

• The disturbing background on Hubert's most infamous remark on race riots: "I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt . . ."

• Hubert on Communism abroad: "I would say that we have to keep in mind what Russia wants and needs."

• Something for everybody: Hubert's two positions on the Goldwater plan to let parents take tax deductions for education costs. His three positions on civil rights . . . two positions on the oleo tax . . . two positions on price supports . . . three positions on the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the U.N. (If you don't like what Hubert is saying, wait a few minutes . . .)

• For businessmen who are telling themselves that Humphrey is a moderate: how he compared the NAM and Communism.

• Hubert's subtle anti-Catholic propaganda.

• LBJ and Hubert: their similarities – and their differences. Twice when Hubert went to the mat with Lyndon.

• Champ of the pork barrel. Hubert, in his first four months as Senator, introduces $22 billion in new spending bills. Humphrey votes on 156 money bills. Score: spending 156, economy 0.

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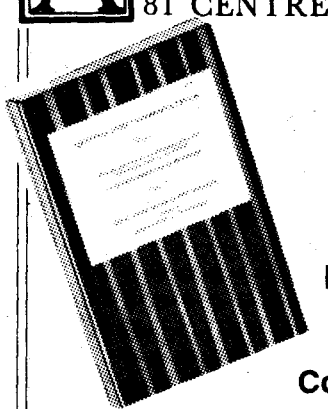

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